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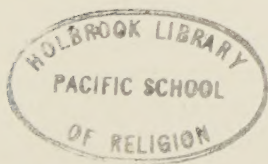
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THE EXPOSITOR.

TATIAN'S DIATESSARON.

THERE is an aspect in which the Eastern Question has a profound interest for scholars and divines. In proportion as the East has been opened to us, continually increasing light has been thrown upon the Scriptures, and the controversies respecting them have been elucidated. In respect to the Old Testament this is notorious, but the encouragement afforded us respecting the New Testament has not, perhaps, received equal attention. The discovery, however, by Tischendorf of the Codex Sinaiticus, in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, would alone suggest the probability that priceless manuscripts are buried, but preserved, in Eastern monasteries, and that relics of Christian literature, which would at once settle many a disputed point between believers and sceptical critics, are scattered over the regions which were once covered with flourishing Christian Churches. This belief received a striking confirmation in 1875, when Bryennius, the Metropolitan of Serræ, published for the first time the entire text of the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, and of the so-called second Epistle, from a MS. preserved in "the Library of the most Holy Sepulchre in Fanar of Constantinople." As Dr. Lightfoot said, in the volume he published as an Appendix to his edition of these Epistles (p. 231), "When a MS. of this vast importance has been for generations unnoticed in a place so public as the official library of a great Oriental prelate, a hope of future discoveries in the

domain of early Christian literature is opened out, in which the most sanguine would not have ventured to indulge before." If sufficient intercourse and sufficient confidence could be established between the East and the West to allow of such MS. treasures being searched, the result might prove of more value to the world than any other consequences of the reunion of those long-divided regions. If the crusaders had only seized and brought safely to Europe all the manuscripts they could lay their hands on, they would probably have more than redeemed all their errors.

These reflections are suggested by another striking discovery of the same kind which has for several years been strangely overlooked, but is now beginning to attract attention. In the second volume of a collection of Armenian translations of the works of St. Ephraem the Syrian, published by the Mechitarist monks at Venice, in 1836, is a work purporting to be an exposition by St. Ephraem of a Harmony of the Gospels. In the year 1841 it was translated into Latin by one of the Fathers of the Order, J. P. Aucher, under the title *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio, facta a S. Ephraemo, Doctore Syro*, but the translation was not published. The work therefore remained the exclusive possession of those acquainted with the Armenian language and literature, and it remained in obscurity. But it came to the knowledge of Dr. George Moesinger, then *Professor Studii Biblici* at Salzburg, and since dead. Father Aucher's translation, and one of the manuscripts from which the Armenian text had been printed, were placed in Dr. Moesinger's hands by the Mechitarist Fathers, and he published the translation, revised and corrected, in the year 1876, at Venice. It proved on examination to be a commentary, or rather a series of scholia, on the famous Diatessaron of Tatian, which may be roughly described as a combination of our four Gospels, composed not long after the middle of the second century. St. Ephraem's

commentary gives us in great measure, by means of its quotations, the text of Tatian's work; and we are thus placed in possession of evidence of the most positive character as to the position held by our Gospels at that early date, and at the same time of very valuable testimony respecting the text then current. The immense importance of such a discovery is manifest. Dr. Adolf Harnack, in a notice of Dr. Moesinger's work in Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, published last February, concludes by saying that "without doubt this publication contains the most important acquisition which our knowledge of the history of pre-catholic Christianity has received of late years; even the discovery of Bryennius must yield precedence to it." Such being the value of Ephraem's work, it is a most curious point that it should have been before the world for nearly five years in a Latin translation, and should have remained practically unnoticed by any of the laborious scholars of Germany. Attention was, indeed, called to it by a passing reference in Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, of Dec. 7th, 1878; and, by an odd coincidence, Dr. Harnack signs another article on the very same page. One would have thought the mere announcement—"Ephraem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron!" thus given in Schürer, with a note of admiration, would have drawn all New Testament critics to follow the scent. But since that time Tatian's Diatessaron and its bearings on the authenticity of our Gospels have been often discussed, and except in a book published last year by the American divine, Dr. Ezra Abbot, on the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, no notice seems to have been taken of Dr. Moesinger's publication until Dr. Harnack's article of February last. Such an incident might well lead us to think that our materials for criticism are beginning to overpower us, and that some of our best treasures may be hidden from us like needles in a stack of hay.

An attempt will be made in these pages to give an account of this discovery, and to exhibit some of the contributions which it offers to New Testament criticism. But it will be desirable in the first instance to illustrate its bearings on current controversy by a brief explanation of the state of the question respecting Tatian and his Diatessaron up to the present time. In this country attention was drawn to the subject by the author of *Supernatural Religion*, and by Dr. Lightfoot's reply to him in the *Contemporary Review* of May, 1877. The position maintained by the author of *Supernatural Religion*¹ is, that there cannot be found "a single distinct trace of any of the Synoptic Gospels, with the exception of the third, during the first century and a half after the death of Jesus,"—that is to say, before the year 180 A.D.; and he comes to a similar conclusion respecting the Gospel of St. John. For this purpose it was imperative for him to contend that our Gospels were not used by Justin Martyr. But Tatian was a disciple, or at least a hearer, of Justin Martyr; and if, therefore, he composed a kind of Harmony out of our four Gospels, and out of those alone, it would be incredible that they were not known to his master and were not recognized by him as authoritative. Accordingly this writer labours in his usual style to explain away the evidence that Tatian's Diatessaron was of the character hitherto generally believed. It is worth observing in passing that the last and "complete" edition of *Supernatural Religion*, published in 1879, contains a singular illustration of the manner in which the author's arguments tend to break down, and of the way in which he treats their collapse. One of the most important points in his argument was a contention that the Gospel of Marcion was not, as had hitherto been believed, a mutilated form of St. Luke's Gospel, but that more probably it was an

¹ Vol. ii. p. 246. Complete edition, 1879.

earlier work from which our Gospel might have been elaborated. In establishing this contention he expends some fifty pages; but in the "complete" edition he has to confess that Dr. Sanday's examination of Marcion's Gospel, in his work on *The Gospels in the Second Century*, "has convinced us that our earlier hypothesis is untenable, that the portions of our third Synoptic excluded from Marcion's Gospel were really written by the same pen which composed the mass of the work and, consequently, that our third Synoptic existed in his time, and was substantially in the hands of Marcion." But nevertheless nearly the whole fifty pages, with all their laborious and ingenious argumentation in support of a false conclusion, are left standing. "We leave the statement of the case," says the author, "so far, nearly in its former shape, in order that the true nature of the problem and the varying results and gradual development of critical opinion may be better understood" (vol. ii. p. 138). The confession is certainly a candid one; but it is difficult to know what to say of the state of mind which not only reproduces a mass of argument after it has been proved to be unsound, but which is in no degree shaken by such a conviction of error on an important and difficult point. The author can actually say (vol. ii. p. 247) that "the identification of Marcion's Gospel with our third Synoptic proves the existence of that work before A.D. 140, *but no evidence is thus obtained, either as to the author or the character of his work.*" It is not necessary to dwell upon the indication thus afforded respecting this writer's method of discussion.

But to turn to his argument respecting Tatian. He urges that "there is no authority for saying that Tatian's Gospel was a harmony of four Gospels at all, and the name Diatessaron was not only not given by Tatian himself to the work, but was probably the usual foregone conclusion of the Christians of the third and fourth

centuries, that everything in the shape of evangelical literature must be dependent on the Gospels adopted by the Church." No writer before the fifth century had seen the work itself; only two writers before that period mention it at all; and the natural explanation is to be found "in the conclusion that Tatian did not compose any Harmony at all, but simply made use of the same Gospel as his master Justin Martyr, namely, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, by which name his Gospel had been actually called by those best informed" (vol. ii. pp. 154-5). In short, we are told, "it is obvious that there is no evidence of any value connecting Tatian's Gospel with those in our Canon" (p. 157).

These pleas were met by Dr. Lightfoot, with his usual conclusiveness, in an article on Tatian's Diatessaron in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1877; and it is requisite to recall the main facts he established, as our acceptance of Dr. Moesinger's publication as a commentary on the real work of Tatian depends on its correspondence to these already known facts. The first piece of evidence on the subject is a statement by Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iv. 29)—we quote Dr. Lightfoot's translations—"Tatian composed a sort of connection and compilation, I know not how, of the Gospels, and called it the Diatessaron. This work is current in some quarters (with some persons) even to the present day." This statement, as Dr. Lightfoot says, is explicit; but in *Supernatural Religion* it is set aside on the ground that it is based upon mere hearsay, and that the writer admits his own ignorance of the contents of the Diatessaron in the words, "I know not how." But Dr. Lightfoot shows that the Greek expression—οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως—is constantly used by writers in speaking of books where they are perfectly acquainted with the contents, but do not understand the principles, or do not approve the method adopted. "In idiomatic English it

signifies, 'I cannot think what he was about,' and is equivalent to 'unaccountably,' 'absurdly.'" In short, it is not ignorance of the contents of Tatian's work, but disparagement of its method, which is implied in the expression of Eusebius. We know from other evidence that the Diatessaron was commonly current in the neighbouring districts; "and it would be somewhat strange if Eusebius, who took a special interest in apocryphal literature, should have remained unacquainted with it."

The next evidence we shall cite is, as Dr. Lightfoot says, more important than any. It is from the Greek Father Theodoret, who became bishop of Cyrus or Cyrrhus near the Euphrates, in the year 420 or 423, and died in 457 or 458. In his treatise on Heresies, written in 453, he makes the following statement:—

"He (Tatian) composed the Gospel which is called Diatessaron, cutting out the genealogies and such other passages as show the Lord to have been born of the seed of David after the flesh. This work was in use not only among persons belonging to his sect, but also among those who follow the Apostolic doctrine, as they did not perceive the mischief of the composition, but used the book in all simplicity on account of its brevity. And I myself found more than two hundred such copies held in respect in the churches in our parts. All these I collected and put away, and I replaced them by the Gospels of the four Evangelists." Theodoret is here reporting simple matter of fact, fully within his cognizance, and his account is perfectly clear and definite. On a third piece of evidence to which Dr. Lightfoot allows some weight we do not dwell, because it rests on a disputed reading of a Syriac text, which Dr. Moesinger regards as very improbable. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the brief statement of Epiphanius, that "The Diatessaron Gospel is said to have been composed by Tatian; it is called by some *According to the Hebrews*. Dr.

Lightfoot shews that the latter observation is probably one of the numerous and egregious blunders of Epiphanius, and the other part of the statement simply confirms Eusebius. There is a later statement on the subject by Victor of Capua, who flourished about 545 A.D. It contains, however, an obvious misquotation of Eusebius, from whom it was derived, and it need not occupy our attention at present, though we shall have to notice it afterwards. But from the two witnesses already quoted we may conclude that as late as the middle of the fifth century there was in common circulation a Diatessaron bearing the name of Tatian. In Dr. Lightfoot's words "It was a compilation of our Four Gospels, which recommended itself by its concise and convenient form, and so superseded the reading of the Evangelists themselves in some churches. . . . It was probably in the main a fairly accurate digest of the Evangelical narratives; for, otherwise, it would not have maintained its ground; but passages which offended Tatian's Encratite and Gnostic views, such as the genealogies, were excised; and this might easily be done without attracting notice under cover of his general plan."

We may now pass to another witness who at once confirms this information about Tatian himself, and brings his work into connection with Ephraem. Dionysius Bar Salibi, bishop of Amida in Armenia Major, who died according to Dr. Lightfoot in 1207, but according to Dr. Moesinger in 1171, makes the following statement in the Preface to his own Commentary on St. Mark:—

"Tatian, the disciple of Justin, the philosopher and martyr, selected and patched together from the four Gospels and constructed a Gospel, which he called *Diatessaron*, that is, *Miscellanies*. On this work Mar Ephraem wrote an exposition; and its commencement was, 'In the beginning was the Word.'" Three other Syrian writers refer to the fact that Tatian composed a Diatessaron; but they con-

found it with the Harmony of Ammonius of Alexandria. Dr. Lightfoot has shewn that their statements are all later than Bar Salibi, and can be traced to a misunderstanding of his language. In another place Bar Salibi states that "St. Ephraem explained the Gospel, following the order of the Diatessaron." Dr. Moesinger observes that we have abundant testimony to the fact of Ephraem having commented upon the Gospels, and the statement of Theodoret respecting the use of the Diatessaron among the orthodox in Syria and Mesopotamia sufficiently explains why it should have been adopted by the Syrian Father as the text for his exposition.

It remains therefore to enquire whether the treatise in the Armenian translation of Ephraem's works bears internal and external evidence of being the commentary of Ephraem in question. On this Dr. Moesinger observes that its method and style correspond closely with those by which Ephraem's commentaries on other books of Scripture are marked. In the next place the Church is described as in a condition which exactly corresponds to that of the Church of Edessa after its Catholic Bishop Barses had been sent into exile in 364 by the Emperor Valens. There is a good deal of disputation against the Marcionites, and we know that Ephraem was a special opponent of that sect. Further, many opinions peculiar to Ephraem and found in his other commentaries on the Scriptures are found in this also. The Armenian translation, moreover, betrays its Syriac original, many Syriac constructions being introduced contrary to the genius of the Armenian language. Moreover, the Gospel narrative on which Ephraem comments corresponds to the characteristics already mentioned of Tatian's Diatessaron. That work began with the text "In the beginning was the Word," and such is the commencement of Ephraem's quotations. Theodoret tells us that the genealogies were omitted from the Diatessaron, and they are absent from

this commentary. Finally, it is an interesting point, in which Dr. Moesinger is substantially confirmed by Dr. Harnack, that the text which St. Ephraem explains in this work differs generally from that of the Peshito version, and agrees with that of the Syriac version which Cureton edited, and which he maintained to be more ancient than the Peshito.

On the whole, then, reserving one or two minor points to be noticed in the sequel, there seems no practical doubt of the justice of Dr. Moesinger's conclusion, that in this commentary of Ephraem we are placed substantially in possession of the Diatessaron of Tatian, with the qualification which Dr. Harnack adds, that we possess it as it existed in a Syriac translation in Ephraem's day. The text of the Armenian version is preserved in two manuscripts, both dating from the year 1195, one of them having been copied out by Archbishop Nerses. Dr. Moesinger says that it breathes the ancient air of Armenian literature, and in the opinion of the Mechitarist Fathers is to be referred to the fifth century. The Armenian translator has evidently followed the Syriac text with great care, word by word, even at the cost of awkward constructions and occasional obscurity. Father Aucher followed the same plan of literal translation in his Latin version; and thus, notwithstanding the repeated transference from one language to another, we may place confidence in the substantial accuracy of the representation conveyed to us of Tatian's work. But this will be the better seen from the more detailed examination which we must defer to another article. For the present it is enough to observe that the Diatessaron now proves to have been a close welding together of the four Canonical Gospels. For instance, it commences with John i. 1-5, and proceeds to Luke i. 5, John i. 14-17, Luke i. 6-79, Matt. i. 18-25, and so on. Harnack says that they are so closely interwoven, so in-

geniously spun together, that nowhere, so to say, is any seam visible. Tatian, indeed, is very far from having quoted the complete text of all four Gospels, and the work corresponds to Theodoret's account, that it was a compact and concise book. But he does use all of them, and uses no other source. The main fact, therefore, for which orthodox critics have contended appears conclusively established. Tatian is a decisive witness to the acceptance of our four Gospels in the time of Justin Martyr; and thus a vital portion of the argument of the author of *Supernatural Religion* falls at once to the ground. But although this affords a useful exposure of the value of that writer's discussions, it will be found to serve more important and more permanent purposes.

HENRY WACE.

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

AN INTRODUCTORY PAPER.

I HAVE been asked to join with Mr. Beet in contributing to the EXPOSITOR some papers on different aspects of the Revised Version of the New Testament. But we are met by this difficulty, that while the adequate discussion of a work of such importance requires study which in the midst of other engagements cannot at once be given to it, the readers of the EXPOSITOR will yet naturally be anxious to know something about the New Version, and although the daily press has already taken up the subject with eagerness, there will still be some preliminary matter which ought to be stated if the Revision is to be approached with that sympathetic sense of its inner history which

makes every great work so much more intelligible. Reserving, therefore, for the present any more detailed examination and criticism, I propose to confine myself on this occasion to a brief outline of the circumstances in which the Revision had its origin, and a few remarks as to its general character.

Like most great undertakings of the kind, the Revision of the Authorized Version had been for some time "in the air" before it was actually taken in hand. Throughout the eighteenth century there had been a number of desultory and for the most part isolated attempts at revision by private individuals, the principal result of which is a feeling of thankfulness that no systematic revision was then attempted. It is true that the two greatest of English scholars, Bentley and Porson, belong, the one to the beginning, the other to the end of that century. But though we might well have wished that the present Revision had been assisted by their pre-eminent divining power, the time was not, in other respects, ripe for such an undertaking. So far as the text was concerned Bentley could only *plan* a scheme for collecting materials which it has taken more than a century to realize in any adequate manner. The enthusiastic hopes to which he gave utterance when he began, gradually die away or are smothered in the petty squabbles which embittered his later years. And even the broaching of his scheme raised an outcry that would have been enough to stop its progress. If Bentley himself could have been alive at the present day, none would have admitted more freely than he the enormous advantages which the present generation of scholars enjoy at starting—with the oldest and greatest of MSS. at last published with tolerable accuracy; with another MS., its equal probably in age and second only to it in value, newly discovered; with a version of the second century (the Curetonian) entirely brought to light, and our stock of collated MSS., both of the Greek text and

of other versions largely, and more than largely, augmented ; with the whole of this mass of material diligently sifted, and the principles underlying its use elicited by a succession of devoted labourers, the lives of men like Griesbach, Tischendorf and Tregelles, having been spent, and lavishly spent, in the cause.

But if the materials were not yet ready for anything like a critical recension of the Greek text, still less was the public taste in a fit condition for approaching a task which needed such delicate and reverent care as the revision of the venerable English of the Authorized Version. The eighteenth century has done great things in its way, and produced great men, but it did not possess the gifts—it was not in the proper frame of mind—for such a work. It had before it a false ideal ; and some of the attempts at revision made in the eighteenth century have become a byword and conspicuous example of all that was most to be avoided.¹

The general reaction which accompanied and outlasted the great French wars made its influence felt in the circles where there was a tendency to advocate revision. And on the whole between the years 1796–1832 the proposal must be said to have lost ground. At the latter date appeared the *Hints for an Improved Translation of the New Testament*, by Dr. Scholefield, then Professor of Greek at Cambridge. The movement which followed and which finally culminated in the work now so auspiciously accomplished, may be very largely traced to this beginning. It now, however, became what it had never quite succeeded in being before, a distinct movement assuming gradually wider and wider proportions. The years 1856–1858 mark another

¹ It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the volume in which Harwood (1768) professed to translate the New Testament “with freedom, spirit, and elegance,” or of the often quoted specimens of this spirited and elegant version “The young lady is not dead” (Mark v. 39), “A gentleman of splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons” (Luke xv. 11), etc.

well-defined stage.¹ In the first edition of his *Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, published in 1856, Dr. Ellicott argued strongly in favour of Revision, at the same time by his careful and accurate translations of these as of other Epistles in the two preceding years, making an important contribution towards it. Still more important, because the result of combined labours undertaken in the hope of paving the way for a larger combination, was the Revision of portions of the Authorized Version of the New Testament by "Five Clergymen" (Dr. Barrow, Dr. Moberly now Bishop of Salisbury, Dean Alford, Mr. W. G. Humphry, and Dr. Ellicott), the first part of the first edition of which appeared in 1857. The same year saw a plea in the same direction from the side of the Nonconformists in Dr. J. R. Beard's *A Revised English Bible the want of the Church*. And meanwhile in America the first step, though not a very successful one, towards a systematic revision was taken by the American Bible Union, who brought out the Epistle to the Hebrews in 1857. The eventful *triennium* closed with the publication of the weighty treatise of Archbishop Trench (at that time Dean of Westminster), *On the Authorized Version of the New Testament*. The writer it is true did not think that the time for an authoritative revision had yet come, but his own work helped much to hasten it.

While the leading English scholars were thus advocating a careful emendation of the Authorized Version, attempts were made to give practical effect to their views in the Convocation of Canterbury by Canon Selwyn (Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, who had also written upon the subject), in February, 1856, and in the House of Commons by the late Mr. Heywood in July of the same year. Both

¹ This will be apparent if reference is made to the list of works on Revision in the Appendix to Abp. Trench's treatise *On the Authorised Version*, pp. 216-219. Out of forty works ranging between 1659-1858, twenty-one belong to the last three years.

these attempts failed; but much had already been done to educate public opinion, and the process went on rapidly up to the time (1870) when in Convocation at least the attempt was renewed. Bishop Ellicott, in the little volume in which he supported the resolution proposed by the late Bishop Wilberforce, and seconded by himself, justly calls attention to the different reception which it met with as a proof of the altered attitude of the public mind towards the proposal.¹ Not only was the motion for a committee to report "on the desirableness of a Revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament" unanimously carried, but it was also with general consent agreed to extend the motion so as to include the Old Testament.

The work was now fairly launched. It fell into the hands of energetic and able men who had long been bent upon the object before them. By the summer of the same year a further committee of the two Houses of the Southern Convocation was definitely entrusted with the work of revision, with instructions to invite the co-operation of eminent scholars both from the Church of England and from the Nonconformist bodies. Among the names best known to the general public of those who have taken part in the New Testament Revision throughout, would be, as representing the former body, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott), the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Lightfoot), the Deans of Westminster (Dr. Stanley), Rochester (Dr. Scott, the joint editor of the famous *Lexicon*), Llandaff (Dr. Vaughan), Dr. Westcott, Dr. Hort, and Dr. Scrivener; among the Nonconformist representatives may be mentioned Dr. Angus (President of the Baptist College), Dr. Newth (Principal of New College), Dr. Moulton (the translator of Winer's *Grammar*), Drs. Milligan and Roberts of Aberdeen, and Dr. Vance Smith. Dr. J. H. Newman declined an invitation that was sent to him, and the veteran

¹ *On the Revision of the English New Testament*, p. 7.

Dr. Tregelles, to whom, after his lifelong labours, a revision so thorough as that which was promised, must have been a veritable Pisgah-prospect, was prevented by failing health from taking his seat.

Steps were further taken to form a committee in America, which should work in concert with the English Committee. Of this the members who have acquired the widest reputation on this side the Atlantic would probably be Professor Ezra Abbot (whose recent work on the *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* has met with much appreciation in this country), Dr. Hackett, the author of an excellent¹ Commentary on the Acts, and Dr. Schaff, the eminent Church historian, commentator, and divine.

The bodies thus constituted have laboured on with unwearied diligence and unbroken harmony, holding in the case of the English Committee some forty sittings in the year, for ten years and a half. Of these, six years were occupied in a First Revision, two and a half in the Second Revision, and the remainder in the consideration of suggestions from America. The result of these prolonged labours is now before us.

It is not easy to over-estimate the importance of such an event. The scholarship of the English-speaking people has girded itself for a bold and responsible but noble task. It has carried out its work with a due sense of its gravity. It has undertaken to offer to the English-speaking race throughout the globe a purer and more strictly faithful Version of the Book which tells, beyond all others, of "the wonderful works of God." Its work is now done, and

¹ I use this epithet advisedly in face of the sneer of Dr. Overbeck (Preface to fourth edition of De Wette's *Commentary on the Acts*, p. xiii.). Dr. Overbeck's own idea of editing the work of an eminent predecessor seems to be to pour into it page by page a running broadside of adverse criticism. It is a relief to turn from Dr. Overbeck's far-fetched reasonings and arrogant dogmatism to the unpretending and perhaps somewhat old fashioned but sober and sensible scholarship of Dr. Hackett.

has gone forth to the world. "Is it a success, or is it a failure?" will be a question that will rise anxiously to many minds, a question on the answer to which much of deep moment will depend.

In spite of some hasty expressions in certain portions of the daily and weekly press, few who are at all competent to form a judgment will hesitate to say that, speaking broadly and upon the whole, it is a success, and a success not unworthy of the magnitude of the task. The object has undoubtedly been attained. A purer and more strictly faithful Version has been placed in the hands or within easy reach of all who speak the English tongue. Adventitious growths, which in the course of centuries had found a place in the very imperfect Greek text used by the old translators, have been removed, true readings substituted for false, and probable readings at least placed alongside those that are doubtful. The meaning of the original has been more accurately and clearly rendered. Much that used to be obscure has now been made plain, and that which was comparatively plain has been made plainer. Many a fine shade of thought has been brought out, which would otherwise have passed unnoticed.

There cannot be the smallest doubt that this has been done, and done to a very large extent. The only possible question is to *what* extent, and whether the gain may not, in some greater or less degree, be accompanied with loss.

It is to the striking of this balance of loss and gain that Mr. Beet and I have been asked to contribute. I think I can undertake that we shall do so in no presumptuous spirit. The English Committee was formed of such commanding names that few were left outside who were competent to criticize it. And I at least should not claim for a moment to be among those few. But it is desired to elicit the verdict of general public opinion; and as one item in the mass, I shall venture candidly to give my own. "Prove

all things," assay and test all things, as metal is assayed, was the advice which the Apostle gave to the Thessalonians. And by the gradual convergence of opinions, many of them insignificant in themselves, insensibly grows and spreads the sum of assured truth. Error cannot cleave to it permanently, but the smallest particle of truth helps to swell the aggregate. Even the widow's mites went to the building or repair of the temple, and surely the Word of God is his temple. We then will throw into the box such mites as we may, in the hope that He to whom they are offered will Himself apply them as He will.

W. SANDAY.

THE VISION OF ISAIAH.

ISAIAH vi. 1-8.

I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THIS was the Prophet's first vision, first in the order of time, if not the first recorded,—a vision of the eternal realities which underlie the fleeting phenomena of time. Vouchsafed to him while he was still in the flower of early manhood, it set him apart, consecrated and impelled him to the prophetic function. When once he had seen it, the events and changes of time could no longer sway him with their former power. Henceforth the monarch who sat on the throne of Israel was but a passing shadow, a frail and imperfect symbol, of the true King of men, Adonai, Jehovah Sabaoth. The earthly temple, with its sacred emblems and priestly ministrations and ravishing choirs, was but a poor and dull reflexion of "the pattern on the mount," the house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. The motley crowd which thronged its courts was no longer wonderful or impressive to him as compared with the

multitude which no man can number, whose song shook the eternal temple till it trembled as though smitten by a storm of harmonious sounds. For him the pomps and splendours of earth had no longer any glory by reason of the more excellent glory behind and beyond them, and which they vainly strove to express. Henceforth he was raised above the shows and lures of time, its changes and fears and griefs : for he could look quite through them all, and discern the sacred and abiding realities which they dimly shadowed forth.

The experience of Isaiah is a type and sample of that through which we must all pass if we would enter the service and kingdom of God. We must become *seers* before we can become servants. As many of us as are servants have seen a vision which others do not see, and heard a voice they do not hear. For us, as for Isaiah, the eternal realities have shone through the pomps and shows of time ; and we have heard a Divine Voice bidding us look to the things which are unseen and eternal, not to the things which are seen and temporal. And hence, in so far as we are obedient to the heavenly vision, our life is a life of faith in "things which do not appear" to sense ; we walk as seeing Him who is invisible ; our character and conduct are drawn, by an unseen Power, into accord with a Divine law.

And though the great sight by which we were summoned and consecrated to the life of faith may have taken many forms, answering to our several conditions and needs, in substance it is identical with that of Isaiah. What he saw was a vision of the eternal through the temporal, of human sinfulness through the Divine holiness, of purification through sacrifice, of service through forgiveness. And if we have been called to the fellowship of God and fitted for his service, we have seen all that he saw. If we are to be fitted for that fellowship and service, we must see all that he saw : we must rise through the temporal to the

eternal, through our recognition of the Divine holiness to a sense of our own deep sinfulness, through our trust in the Sacrifice for sins to purity of life and lip.

"In the year that king Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting on the throne, and his train filled the temple." The reign of Uzziah had been long and more prosperous than that of any Hebrew monarch since the days of Solomon. "Fifty and two years had he reigned in Jerusalem." Through the earlier and major part of his reign "he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord." "He sought God," and "God made him to prosper." By his victories over the Canaanites, the Philistines, the Arabians, he recovered the provinces and dependencies which had been lost since the death of the Wise King. His fame and power spread abroad even to the gates of Egypt. His liberal and magnificent temper prompted him to devise and execute great public works. He fortified and adorned his capital. He built forts and watch-towers in the desert, digged wells, redeemed waste lands to the uses of husbandry, settled husbandmen on the plains and vinedressers on the hills. He organized and drilled "an exceeding great army," equipped it with new weapons, stored up munitions and cunning engines of war. And in all he undertook "he was marvellously helped" of God, "till he was strong."

But, in the expressive phrase of the Sacred Chronicler, "*when* he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction." Not content with regal, he snatched at sacerdotal power. "He went into the holy place to burn incense on the altar of incense." The priests withstood him. Their bold remonstrance only inflamed his anger. But while the red flush of anger was still burning on his brow, there rose up in it the white spot of a mortal leprosy. The priests "looked on him, and, behold, he was leprous in his forehead; and they thrust him out from thence; yea, he himself hasted to go out, because the Lord had

smitten him." From that day forth the astute capable king dwelt a lonely leper in "a several house." The active and magnificent figure which had so long ruffled upon the stage was no more seen, whether in the council-chamber or on the field of battle. Never more could Uzziah, the leper, appear in palace or in temple, or so much as enter the hut of his meanest peasant. He was dead while yet he lived.

At last this death-in-life drew to a close. It was known in the city that the King, who had played so brave and conspicuous a part for fifty years, was at the point to die. Such an event, a career so magnificent ending in such disastrous eclipse, might well have inspired solemn and anxious thoughts, moving the nation to profound regret and pity, even if it did not perplex them with fear of change. But the people were unimpressed by it, unmoved. Spoiled and enervated by luxury, plunged in sordid ambitions and sensual delights, they "did not regard the work of Jehovah, nor discern the counsel of his hands." They saw no omen in the melancholy death of the magnificent King. As Isaiah wanders through the city he meets the women "gadding about with flung up heads and ogling eyes, tripping and mincing as they go;" the men still intent on "adding house to house and joining field to field;" the judges taking bribes, the nobles grinding the faces of the poor.

Oppressed with vague forebodings, he enters the temple, climbs the stairs, passes on to the threshold of the priests' court,—the very court in which Uzziah had sinned and had been smitten for his sin. There he beholds symbols which speak of the presence of a more august King than Uzziah, of a righteousness and mercy and peace which know no change. There is the altar of sacrifice, with its clouds of perfumed smoke; the brasen laver of cleansing, the ministering priests, the Levitical choirs; and, at the farther end of the court, screening the holiest of all, in which was the

Shechinah and the Mercy-seat, he sees the rich voluminous veil, with its wrought figures of cherubim, falling in heavy folds. It was a place full of wonder, of awe, of mystery. Yet how little sense of any awful mystery there seemed to be in the people who traversed the courts of the temple, or even in the priests who served at its altar! They see all the signs of a Divine presence and rule, but they do not perceive the King immortal, invisible; they hear his words, but, hearing, they do not understand. Their eyes are dim, their ears heavy, their hearts fat. Prosperity, luxury, greed, lust, have made the spiritual world a mere dream to them, and the visible world the only reality. Out of the very symbols and services which should have been so many clues leading them up into the unseen and eternal, they have woven a veil which hides from them the sacred and august realities set forth by those shadows of good things.

The Prophet stands among them, or lingers in the temple after they have left it, solitary, sad at heart, because of their unbelief, their lack of moral insight and emotion. His forebodings of evil grow upon him. The consciousness of an endless monotony, insincerity, sordidness in the life of the people deepens within him. Though the political horizon is clear, though no visible calamity threatens them, he finds the portents of calamity in the dead calm and moral stagnation of the time. It is like the ominous pause which precedes and predicts the storm, when there is no stir in the air, and all nature lies still, breathless, expectant. Changes have taken place; a solemn and striking change, the death of the king, is even now at hand; and the heartless indifference with which these changes are contemplated predicates that other, and more radical, and more alarming changes are necessary and will be sent. Where, then, is the young Prophet to look for that which is real and abiding amid changes which carry in themselves the

seeds of farther change? Where is he to look for strength and comfort amid calamities which are but as the drops that precede a very tempest of calamity?

The answer to that question comes to him in a form most strange, most impressive. A vision breaks upon his inward eye. There rises before him a new and awful, yet most familiar, scene. It is still the temple in which he stands, but the temple enlarged, transfigured, illuminated with a splendour and awful with a terror such as his heart had not conceived. There is a throne in it; but it is not the throne of the house of David. There is a King; but it is not Uzziah the leper, nor even Uzziah in the full flush of health and power and conquest; it is Adonai, the King of kings and Lord of lords. Another train than that of the Levitical priests and minstrels fills the temple; and, arching their wings over the Mercy-seat, are other forms than those of the golden cherubim. It is *the temple in the heavens*. Beyond and above all the changing and inefficient forms of time, he beholds their eternal ideals and archetypes. The passing shows of earth open and part, like the mists of the morning, to reveal a new and heavenly world clothed in unimaginable splendours, the world that *is* and is to be, a world like that with which he is familiar, and yet as far above it as the heavens are higher than the earth.

It is enough. He knows now what it is that underlies the shows and shadows of time, what are the substances that cast them. He has seen the everlasting purposes of God in their ideal forms, in their perfect and final embodiment. He knows that no jot or tittle of them can fail to receive its appropriate manifestation among men, that the things which are seen and temporal *must* be shaped after the pattern of the things which are unseen and eternal; he knows even that by the very changes and calamities through which men pass, and by which the counsels of the Divine Will seem to be thwarted, God, who fulfils Himself in many

ways, is preparing men to submit to his will and to share in his glory. And, knowing all this, the Prophet is content,—content to wait God's time, to work in God's way, to confide in God's mercy. Now that he has seen the eternal ideas which God is working out through all the changes and chances of time, he can look without despair on the death of kings, on the moral insensibility of his own people, and even on the disasters which that moral insensibility inevitably portends.

Is it not clear, then, why *we* need the very vision vouchsafed to Isaiah? Changes must and will befall us. And when sorrowful and adverse changes fall upon us, how are we to have any peace of heart unless we also see and believe that God rules over all, and that He is sending these changes to carry out the eternal purposes of his love for us and for all men? If we are to enter into a stable and abiding peace, if even we are to work together with God for our own good and the good of the world, we must be able to look clean through the driving rack of vicissitude, to the clear bright heaven above; and to believe that the clouds will soon pass, that they will bless and enrich us even as they pass over us, and that, when they have swept by, God our Sun will once more shine down health and gladness upon us. When the rains fall, and the winds roar, and the waves beat, we must know that our house is on the rock, not on the sands; and that, even when *this* house of our tabernacle is dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, a home in the heavens. In fine, if we would not be driven from all peace by every wind of change, if we would not lose heart so often as God shifts the scenes in the drama of this mortal life, we must link ourselves on to the everlasting purposes of his Will; we must learn, with Isaiah, to see the unchanging in the changeful, the ideal in the actual, the eternal in and through the temporal.

It is indeed by this vision of the ideal and eternal in and behind the actual and the temporal that men gain strength, excellence, joy, peace, in every province and department of human life. What is the poet, for example, but a man in whom persuasion and belief have ripened into faith, and faith has become a passionate intuition; a man who has so cultivated in himself the vision and the faculty divine that even as he looks abroad on the visible world, lying in the common light of day, he becomes aware

“Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky; and in the mind of man :
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
And rolls through all things ?”

What was Shelley's grand vision but a modern paraphrase of the vision of Isaiah ?

“The One remains, the many change and pass ;
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly ;
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of eternity,
Till Death tramples it to fragments :—Die
If thou wouldest be with that which thou dost seek.”

All men who do really great work for the world have some touch of this divine faculty and vision. Even the man of science, is, at his best, a seer and a poet; for it is not only observation and reflection, but imagination also, which enables him to see the real behind the phenomenal, to look quite through the shows of things, and to gaze on an universe utterly unlike this visible universe, a world in which a few great forces, in obedience to a few great laws, robe themselves in an infinite variety of forms. Under the drifting and confused play of events the historian, again, if he be worthy of his name, discerns an increasing purpose, a secret law, a divine order, a growing harmony. Even the

statesman is great only as he too can look through the welter of passing events, and see what are the ruling forces and principles at work beneath the surface of national life, and how he may avail himself of these for the general good. While artists of every kind live and move and have their being in this ideal world, and discharge their proper functions only as they see, and enable us to see, order in confusion, the beauty which lies in common things, the light which never was on sea or shore ; only as they hear, and enable us to hear, harmonies inaudible to all but spirits finely attuned.

And if we would enter into the kingdom and peace of God, we too must rise into this ideal region ; we must receive and cultivate the vision and the faculty divine. That is to say, in this common life of ours, so full of discord, change, temptation, sin, we must see an eternal purpose, a secret order, a governing law, a growing harmony. We must not estimate things by their outward bulk and glitter only or mainly, but by their inward and intrinsic worth. When we lay our hands upon a man for example, we must feel that we touch God,—feel that under all the imperfections of his character and life there lies an immortal spirit capable of rising, through circle after circle of approach, till it rest in the God who made it in his own image and is redeeming and renewing it after his own likeness. In the common tasks of life we must see the opportunities of a Divine service ; in the changes and losses of time a Divine discipline by which we are being fitted for eternal honour ; in its joys and successes a Divine bounty by which we are being drawn into a closer fellowship with the Giver of all good. Whatever comes, we must believe in an ideal life, an ideal good, an ideal world behind this present world, yet ever running down and forward in it. We must hold fast the conviction that God has a gracious purpose concerning us, and concerning the world at large, which is being

wrought out by the very forces and events which seem to obstruct, if not to thwart, it; and that this purpose is nothing short of the resolve to transform the whole world into a vast temple, purify and consecrate all men to his service, and fill the whole earth with the glory of his holiness.

S. Cox.

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST OF ST. PAUL.

1 CORINTHIANS xii. 3.—“Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed; and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.” This passage seems to imply that there existed in the primitive Church a traditional and historical test of the boundary line between the Christian and the non-Christian. The words sound like a Church formula; at all events, St. Paul would not have ventured on his own uninspired responsibility to prescribe such a test of the right to the name of Christian. In the absence of our Gospels, and looking simply to the facts of Church history, we should have expected a more narrow and severe line of demarcation. The question is, in the presence of our Gospels, Is this the line we should have expected? We can have no hesitation in saying, Yes. It seems to us that both the negative and positive clauses of this passage find in precise terms their warrant in our Gospels. “No man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed.” Read these words in the light of St. Mark iii. 29, 30. Christ had been accused of demoniacal possession, of acting by means of an unclean spirit. He declares that this accusation is a sin against the Holy Ghost, and therefore a manifestation of radical and unpardonable evil; it is a boundary line between light and darkness.

The men who had imputed to Christ the possession of an unclean spirit had thereby pronounced their anathema upon Him ; but, by that very act, they had pronounced an anathema upon themselves : they had proved their inability to see any beauty which they should desire in the Spirit of the Son of Man ; and, in calling his goodness unclean, they had shown badness to be their ideal. We find it impossible to doubt that some such thought as this was the germ of the Pauline utterance on its negative side. Let us look next to its positive side. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." If the inability to see Divine beauty indicates an absence of the Divine Spirit, the power to discern the divinity of that beauty is an infallible proof of the presence of its Spirit. This is clearly the thought of St. Paul. The question is, Whence did he derive it ? It implies a breadth of view which an Apostle, on his own responsibility, would hardly have dared to manifest in an age when the test of the Divine Spirit was frequently made to consist in the observance of a certain ritual. But if we turn to St. Matthew xvi. 17, we shall find that the positive, like the negative, side of St. Paul's doctrine has its warrant in certain words which our Gospels have put into the mouth of the Christian Founder. Christ asks his disciples what view they had of his own person, and the man amongst them who is habitually the boldest makes answer : "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." The reply of the Master is remarkable : "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." He declares that this apparently simple confession constitutes to Peter a proof that he has passed the line of demarcation between the natural and the supernatural ; he has said something which he could not have derived from the forces or influences of this world, and which therefore proves him to be inspired by higher forces and by diviner influences.

Nor can we fail to be struck with the conformity—we should say the identity—of teaching between the words attributed to the Master and the words actually written by St. Paul. The confession of faith is precisely the same; it is in each case the acknowledgment that the Spirit of the Master is Divine. The inference is precisely the same; it is in each case the declaration that an act, seemingly so simple, has yet established beyond controversy the possession of the Divine Spirit by the man who has performed it; the acknowledgment of the Christ without is the evidence of inspiration from the Christ within.

1 *Corinthians* xiii. 2.—It will be observed that we have omitted any formal consideration of 1 *Corinthians* xii. 9 and 10. The reason is that we have already incorporated that passage along with *Galatians* iii. 5, in the section on *Romans* xv. 18, where we have considered the claims of St. Paul to the possession of miraculous power; and to what we have said in that section we have nothing to add. It will be remembered that by a comparison of 1 *Corinthians* xii. 10 with *Galatians* iii. 5, we there arrived at the conclusion that faith was conceived by the Apostle to exert a dynamical power; and we found that this conception was in harmony with that of St. Matthew xvii. 20, where the Founder of Christianity is represented as assigning to faith the power of removing mountains. In 1 *Corinthians* xiii. 2 the harmony of conception passes into an identity of statement; and we find St. Paul attributing to faith the very metaphor which the Master had assigned to it: “Though I have all *faith*, so that I could remove mountains.” We attach, indeed, little importance to verbal parallels. The Christian Founder is made to apply to faith the same power over a fig-tree which He gives to it over a mountain. The one metaphor is to us as good as the other. What we want to grasp is the thought underlying the symbol; and that thought we have already seen to be the possession of

dynamical power. Why should Paul not have assigned to faith the ability to discern mysteries instead of the ability to lift mountains? He is well aware that Christianity confers such an ability, for he mentions it in this very Verse, but he attributes it to a different quality of mind, which he calls the gift of prophecy. To a modern man there is far more connection between faith and knowledge than between faith and dynamical power. The fact that St. Paul is not in harmony with the modern usage shews clearly that in his day there was attributed to faith an influence beyond the subjective, an influence which did not merely, like the gift of prophecy, exert a power over the individual who possessed it, but which was able to pass out from the individual soul, and was capable of exerting its sway over the forms of matter and the bodies of men.

1 *Corinthians* xv. 3-8.—As apologists, we have here only to do with the historical part of this Chapter. We have to avoid everything which may be interpreted as a mere doctrine of Pauline theology. We have to confine our attention exclusively to the testimony which the Apostle gives regarding the historical facts of Christ's resurrection. We wish, however, at the outset to direct the consideration of the reader to two passages which, although lying outside our immediate province, appear to us to throw a light upon the whole purpose and aim of the Chapter; we allude to Verses 12 and 19.

Verse 12 runs thus: "If Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?" In reading the first clause of this passage we look for a different sequel; we expect to read, "If Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that Christ is not risen?" It is no accident that we do not read this. St. Paul never meant to impute to those whom he criticizes

the actual denial of Christ's resurrection; he does not in his own mind assume that they had ever doubted it. It must have often struck the reader how little comparative space in this long Chapter is afforded to the proof of Christ's resurrection. That doctrine was to St. Paul not only important but vital. He tells us that, without it, preaching is vain, faith is vain, human testimony a lie, human virtue a dream, human hope a delusion, human affection a curse; yet the account of its historical manifestations occupies but three or four Verses. The reason is plain. The aim of the Chapter is not to prove the resurrection of Christ, but to prove the resurrection of humanity, which signified to Paul the prolongation after death of the individual life of man. It is quite true that, in Verse 13, he states in the most unqualified terms that the denial of man's immortality involves the denial of a risen Christ: "If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen." But to point out the inevitable consequence of a doctrine, is a very different thing from asserting that this consequence is recognized and held by the man who believes in the doctrine. When you say in argument with a friend, "Let me point out to you the inevitable result of your theory," so far from imputing that result to him as something which he had foreseen, your hope is that his first sight of it will cause him to revolt from his own theory. Even so St. Paul's consequence is an argument. In effect he says this: "Those who deny the immortality of the human soul are at the very same moment assuming the name of One whom they profess to reverence as more than man. I tell you that, if their doctrine be true, the Object of their worship is dead. Surely they cannot have considered the consequence of their own creed."

A question here occurs. Is it possible they should have failed to see that consequence? Is it possible they should have been able to divorce the immortality of man from the

immortality of Christ? We have no hesitation in answering in the affirmative. St. Paul held, and from the distinctively Christian standpoint held rightly, that the denial of man's immortality involved the denial of Christ's resurrection. But why? Because St. Paul held the doctrine of the Incarnation. He believed that Christ had assumed, not simply a human form, but the very body of humanity itself; He was the head of the human members, and was bound to share their fortune, whatever that might be: his rise would be their exaltation; their dissolution would be his death. But we must remember that there was a multitude of Jewish converts far behind this lofty stage of Christian development. There were thousands of professing Christians who had not grasped the fact of Christ's union with humanity, and who did not dare to link their fortunes with that of the holy Servant of God. Death was the wages of sin, and therefore due to man; but the Christ was sinless, and therefore incapable of being held by death. Gradually there had been growing up a tendency to refine away the humanity of Jesus; to see in his human manifestation something different from mortal clay. How easily, for example, might such a view as that of Cerinthus have lent itself to the denial of man's immortality! Cerinthus himself had probably not yet spoken out, but he was even now alive, and his tendency, we believe, was in the air; indeed, one of his distinctive tenets, that of substitutionary baptism, is alluded to in the 29th verse of this Chapter. Cerinthus held that Christ was a Divine Spirit who descended upon Jesus at his baptism, and fled away from Him immediately before the Cross. He could not be tainted by human suffering; and, therefore, He must escape the suffering: his resurrection was not a lifting from the grave, but a rising out of humanity. It is clear that, on such a view, no connection could be established between the fate of Christ and the fate of his

disciples. Christ had never been incarnate in their nature ; and, therefore, his life could not prove their immortality. It is manifest, all the same, that they could think of Him, and worship Him, as a Christ who was alive and risen.

If, now, we ask what hope could such a Christ afford to the Judaic Christian of the first century, we shall find ourselves on the lines of Verse 19. It was all along the tendency of the Jewish people to seek for a corporate immortality ; that is to say, an immortality of the nation, as distinguished from a perpetuated life of the individual. The imagination of that people had been mainly centred in the glory of the family, the tribe, the race ; and the individual was chiefly viewed as a contributor to the collective whole. The Messiah Himself was for the nation ; his essential office was that of King ; his voice was ever for the multitude. The interests of the individual soul faded before the welfare of the community ; and the destiny of glory which awaited the prospective kingdom was designed to be the pole-star of every human life. We may well believe that, to these Judaic Christians of the Corinthian Church, the Messiah after his coming remained an object of reverence for the same reason which had made Him an object of reverence before He came—as the promise and pledge to the nation of a destiny of immortal glory. It is against this view, in our opinion, that St. Paul protests in Verse 19. He says in effect : “ If in this life only we have hope in Messiah (which is the contention of those among you to whom I speak), if the only hope He can afford us is that of a temporal kingdom which our descendants shall enjoy, and to whose consummation our lives are contributing, then, indeed, we are of all men most miserable. Our temporal state is beyond measure sad ; and, in the midst of its present sadness, our comrades are passing away. If the work of your Messiah can only extend to the things of life ; if it cannot reach the borders

of death and the grave, 'They which are fallen asleep are perished.'"

If our view of this subject be the true one, we shall be warranted to conclude that the historical evidence of Christ's resurrection embraced from Verses 3 to 7 does not exhaust all that St. Paul could say upon the matter. His aim is not to prove Christ's resurrection; he does not assume that it is consciously doubted. What he says on the subject is only intended to confirm faith by giving a brief abstract of what he had taught the Corinthians years ago. It is quite clear from reading the passage that he is simply recapitulating the heads of a discourse previously given; the very manner in which the names are alluded to assumes on the part of the Corinthians a much wider knowledge of the Resurrection-history than they could have gathered from this rapid evidential summary. Let us now, however, proceed to review this Pauline account of Christ's manifestations after his resurrection. Before considering these manifestations themselves, it will be necessary to lift from the threshold two preliminary objections which have been advanced to the reception of this evidence. They are both founded on the assertion that there was something in the mind of St. Paul which tended to disqualify him from being a fair witness on such a question, and we shall briefly glance at each in turn.

The first objection is made by the author of "*Supernatural Religion*," and is founded on an expression in Verses 3 and 4. The words run thus: "How that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the scriptures." The expression which the author of "*Supernatural Religion*" finds suspicious is the twice-repeated phrase, "according to the scriptures." That the Founder of Christianity died, was buried, and rose on the third day, is stated by our Gospels; but our Gospels were probably not

in existence at the time when St. Paul wrote these words, and had certainly not acquired the authority of Scriptures. The Scriptures, therefore, here mean the Old Testament. Now the author of "Supernatural Religion" avers that the repetition of this phrase by St. Paul throws suspicion on the whole narrative; it shews that St. Paul was so impressed with the strength of the Old Testament prophecies regarding Christ's death, burial, and resurrection, and so convinced of the necessity of their fulfilment, that he was ready, without historical evidence, to accept the doctrines here predicted. We are astonished that a writer usually so acute should have failed to see that the case was exactly the reverse. Is it not plain that St. Paul's reason for insisting on the countenance given by the Old Testament to Christ's death and resurrection was the deep conviction that, to the mind of his readers, the Old Testament would be esteemed the weakest part of the evidence? He felt that he was writing to men whose belief in the crucified and risen Lord would be held, if held at all, not *according* to the Scriptures, but in *spite* of the Scriptures. He was conscious that, in the very act of accepting the narrative of Messiah's death and burial, they would feel themselves at times to be at variance with the spirit of the Old Testament and with the traditions of their fathers. St. Paul had no doubt in his own mind that the Scriptures had predicted a Messiah raised from *death*; he could point in confirmation to Psalm xvi., or Hosea vi., or Isaiah liii. But none knew better than St. Paul that even those who had admitted the Messianic application of these passages, had only accepted their Evangelical interpretation after they had accepted the facts of Christianity. The Scriptures had not prepared for the facts; the facts had reinterpreted the Scriptures. St. Paul did not need to look far to find the demonstration of this. He had only to consult his own experience. Long before his conver-

sion to Christianity, he was thoroughly versed in the Scriptures of the Old Testament; he was a Pharisee of the Pharisees, and knew all that could be known concerning the Jewish interpretation of the law and the prophets. Yet not only was St. Paul not led by these Scriptures to favour Christianity; he believed himself, by their teaching, imperatively called to fight against Christianity: he persecuted the Church, and thought he did God good service. In due time he was converted; but he was not converted "according to the scriptures." It would be more correct to say that, from his point of view, he was induced to embrace the Gospel in spite of the Scriptures. As long as we are forbidden to assume the authenticity of the Acts, we may not quote as authentic the narrative of his conversion there given; but, keeping strictly to the testimony of his own Epistles, we have infallible evidence that he was brought to Christianity by Christianity itself, or, as he puts it, by a revelation of Christ in his soul. It was not the study of the past, but the perception of a fact in his own day which led Paul to the Cross. When he came to the Cross, all things became new to him; and, amongst them, the Scriptures also. He tell us in the plainest terms (2 Cor. iii. 14) that the veil over the reading of the Old Testament was only withdrawn *in Christ*; that is to say, that the Evangelical interpretation of the law and the prophets, so far from leading to Christianity, was itself the result of the Christian consciousness. We receive, therefore, from St. Paul himself the strongest weapon against the author of "Supernatural Religion." We are made to feel that his reason for quoting the Old Testament to the Corinthians was a reminiscence of his own past experience, a fear lest the sense of an adverse national tradition should prevent them from fully weighing the historical evidence of a dead and risen Lord.

The second objection is that of Strauss, and is founded

upon Verse 8: "Last of all He was seen of me also." Strauss says that this vision of the Apostle, which he holds to have been subjective and imaginary, probably constituted the germ of all the other Resurrection narratives. Now whether this vision of St. Paul was or was not imaginary, it is quite certain that it did not constitute the germ of the Resurrection narratives. If it be an imagination, the germ of it must be that which produced it. In St. Paul's case we are specially called to ask, what could have originated such a fancy? If we say that it was created by the vast historical testimony to Christ's resurrection which he heard ringing in his ears, then this historical testimony, and not the Pauline vision, is the germ of the Resurrection narratives. If we say, on the other hand, that it was a phantom of his own brain, we are confronted by the fact that his was of all others the brain which had no right to have such a phantom. Whence could he have derived it? We have already seen that it was not from the Scriptures; we have now to remark, in addition, that it was not from personal remembrance. We can understand how the form of a well-known and lately departed life should be present to a man in his dreams; such an imagination is the product of past sight. But St. Paul had never seen the Founder of Christianity. He had no loving memories to stimulate his imagination; the scenes of Galilee were, to him, but the records of abstract history. His was not naturally an empirical mind; few writers exhibit so little of the pictorial; the thought to him ever takes precedence of the form. This is favourable to argument, but it is unfavourable to imagination: and it almost renders impossible such an imagination as can represent itself to the mind as reality. If St. Paul imagined that he had received a manifestation from the risen Lord, the image must have been created in his mind by the influence of

a powerful historical atmosphere; he must have been driven out of his natural bent by the overwhelming pressure of a current persuasion that the Founder of Christianity was alive and had manifested Himself to hundreds of his brethren. It is this persuasion, on the part of Paul, which requires to be investigated, and which needs to be accounted for; for in this, and in the source of this persuasion, lies the true germ of the Resurrection narratives. When the mythical theory [shall have proved that St. Paul's vision was subjective and imaginary, its work of difficulty will only then begin; for it will then be incumbent on it to shew how such a vision should have animated a soul so utterly unprepared for it.

Passing, now, to the historical manifestations themselves as they are here recorded by the Apostle, the one question to be determined is this: Do they meet the conditions of historical evidence? That question can only be answered by a brief examination of each in turn. We must premise that from the phrase, "last of all," in Verse 8, we have every reason to believe that St. Paul is presenting the manifestations according to their chronological sequence. Yet we have no reason to think that he is here enumerating all the manifestations he knew. When we remember that the fourth Gospel, which, on any theory of its authenticity, must have had the full materials at its command, professedly contents itself with mentioning only a few of Christ's manifestations (John xx. 30), we need not be surprised that St. Paul should have confined himself to a selection of instances; especially as, according to his own statement, he is merely recapitulating the main heads of past teaching. Keeping these points in mind, let us look at each of the manifestations here recorded, and see whether it meets the standard adequate to constitute legal evidence.

The first appearance recorded is that in Verse 5: "He

was seen of Cephas".¹ Was there any mythical consideration which should have induced St. Paul thus to glorify the name of Peter? If we believe the negative school, there was no love between these men. Without believing the negative school, and looking merely to the testimony of Galatians ii., we are warranted to say that there was no theological sympathy between them. Peter was not St. Paul's hero, not the man around whose brow he would voluntarily have wreathed a garland. Yet such a garland, in Verse 5, he undoubtedly wreathes; he gives him, in thought, the pre-eminence amongst the Resurrection witnesses. The inevitable inference is that St. Paul must have felt the facts too strong for him,—must have conceded to Peter the place which actual history had assigned to him. History, indeed, has prominently associated the name of Peter with the appearances of the risen Christ. In the Gospels, he holds a leading place in the roll of witnesses (St. Mark xvi. 7; St. Luke xxiv. 34; St. John xx. 2 ff.). In the Acts, he is made to say that he ate and drank with the Son of Man after He rose from the dead. In the first Epistle ascribed to him, he is represented as declaring that the belief in Christ's resurrection had renewed the hope of his days (1 Pet. i. 3). In the second Epistle which goes by his name, we have an allusion to that last conversation which in the closing verses of the fourth Gospel is alleged to have taken place between the disciples and their risen Lord (2 Pet. i. 14). We dare not assume that these documents are authentic; but, on any assumption, we are entitled to hold that they mark a wide-spread tradition in favour of Peter's place among the Resurrection witnesses.

The next question is: Was there sufficient intercourse between St. Peter and St. Paul to give the Gentile Apostle

¹ The women may be omitted through the Jewish prejudice against female testimony (Josephus, *Ant.*, iv. 8, 15).

an opportunity of learning the facts regarding Him? In answer we point to Galatians i. 18, where St. Paul distinctly states that he went up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of St. Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. No doubt it must be remembered that his reason for mentioning the fifteen days is apparently to shew the opposite of what *we* wish to shew. He wants to prove that he received his Gospel, not from man, but from a personal revelation of Jesus Christ; in proof of this he states that his intercourse with Peter only extended over fifteen days—a time far too short to indoctrinate a man by any natural process in the mysteries of the Gospel. Yet we must bear in mind that what St. Paul means by the Gospel is not the historical facts of Christianity, but the spirit and system of the Christian theology. Fifteen days would be too short a time to instruct him in the latter; fifteen minutes might give him the outlines of the former. St. Paul never meant to affirm that he arrived supernaturally at the knowledge of things which he himself would say belonged to the natural man. He reached the historical facts of Christianity by a strictly historical process—how historical this passage in Corinthians shews. The fifteen days he spent with Peter at Jerusalem were beyond all question the period in which he received from that Apostle a narrative of his Resurrection experiences. When we add that, at the time when St. Paul wrote this Epistle, Peter was still alive to rebut or to verify the statement, we shall be forced to confess that no legal tribunal of any age has exhibited a more unexceptionable witness than that which St. Paul finds in Cephas.

The second appearance recorded by St. Paul is contained in the words: “Then of the twelve,” and was probably a part of that testimony which he received during the fifteen days. We note here the fact that there *were* twelve—a confirmation of the statement with which our Gospels

have made us familiar. The number, however, is here evidently used officially. "The Twelve" had become a name employed to designate the apostolic company. The appearance to the Twelve does not imply that this was the number present; it signifies a manifestation made to the Apostolate; as we should speak of a communication made to the presbytery or to the bench of Bishops. Such a manifestation is recorded by our Gospels in St. Luke xxiv. 36.

The third testimony adduced by St. Paul is contained in Verse 6: "After that, He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep." This evidence is the most remarkable which has yet been given. The testimony of St. Peter, however sincere, was that of an isolated individual; and an isolated individual is sometimes subject to hallucinations. Here is a testimony which, if accepted, would exclude the possibility of such a supposition. That five hundred men should at the same moment be arrested by an imaginary vision, and mistake it for a reality, appears to us to be a physical as well as a moral impossibility. We are pointed to the fact that in revival meetings a whole assembly is frequently affected simultaneously; we would ask in reply, What is the reason of this simultaneous influence? It is not a subjective vision, but a purely outward and historical phenomenon which produces such an impression; it is the voice of a living man proclaiming from a veritable book a message clothed in human language, which professes to be, and which by that assembly is believed to be, a call addressed to the souls of men. There never was an illustration which more exactly *proved* a premiss than this illustration proves the premiss which it is intended to destroy. The mythical element being thus excluded, the only question remaining is, Can we accept the fact here adduced; can we receive

the statement of St. Paul that above five hundred Christian brethren professed to have seen the risen Christ in a simultaneous vision? St. Paul is not afraid to put into the hands of his contemporaries a means of testing the accuracy of his statement. He declares that the greater number of these men are "still alive," and can speak for themselves. Some, he says, have fallen asleep (using that very metaphor which, according to our Gospels, the Christian Founder applied to the dead); but the majority still "remain," to refute or to confirm him. The point, however, which above all others strikes us as worth recording is the glimpse we here get into the evidential character of St. Paul's mind. This man, with all his claim to extatic revelations, was evidently no dreamer; he was fully alive to the value of historical evidence. He has been all along keeping his eye on these five hundred brethren. They have been to him something more than a *cloud* of witnesses; he has been following them individually. He knows each of them by headmark; he has been observing the life of each, and the death of each. He has been keeping hold of the chain of witnesses, and marking when any link was severed by the grave. As we realize the fact, we feel instinctively that, with St. Paul for a guide, we are on stronger ground than we had been wont to imagine. There springs up within us the confidence we experience in the guidance of a practical man who has his eyes and ears open to the facts and the lessons of history; and, without undervaluing or disputing the mystic nature of his hidden life, we breathe more freely in the consciousness that he has also a life, with us, in the "light of common day."

The manifestation to the five hundred may be identified with Christ's appearance on the mountain of Galilee recorded in St. Matthew xxviii.; that is to say, there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent their identification. The

same cannot be said of the next appearance, which is not found in our Gospels; it is contained in Verse 7: "After that He was seen of James." The manifestation is recorded in the Gospel to the Hebrews, but our narratives are silent on the subject. It seems to us, however, that, if we accept our Gospels as genuine, we shall find something which, although insufficient in the absence of St. Paul's testimony to constitute the record of a manifestation, is yet fitted in the light of that testimony to suggest the probability of one. For what are the facts? Throughout the whole course of our Gospel narrative James is an obscure man. Even on the supposition that he was the Apostle, the son of Alphæus (which indeed is our own opinion), he is still obscure. The only James who figures in that narrative is the son of Zebedee. We hear of Peter, of John, of Thomas, of both the Judes, of Philip and of Andrew, but not of this James. Suddenly, however, as we pass from the Gospels to the Acts, we are confronted by a change. This man, so obscure, so unknown, so undistinguished amongst his contemporaries, all at once becomes a leading power. We find him at the head of the Church in Jerusalem, enacting its laws, and presiding over its deliberations. We do not need the Acts to tell us this; in Galatians ii. 9 he is expressly called a "pillar of the Church." The question is, Why? What has produced the change in the fortunes and destiny of this man; what has brought him to the front of the Christian community? We may be told that he was the Lord's brother; but he was the Lord's brother during the Lord's lifetime; and, in spite of that, remained a cipher. Something must have intervened to lift him into the light of public estimation; and that which intervened must have been some real or supposed mark of favour conferred upon him by the risen Lord. A manifestation of that Lord's person specially vouchsafed to James, or the belief that such a manifestation had been

vouchsafed to him, would have accomplished the transformation in a moment. There is, then, inferential evidence even in our existing narratives that James was one of the Resurrection witnesses. All that we have said of Cephas finds equal place here. St. Paul had no mythical motive for wreathing the brows of this Apostle. James was not, any more than Peter, St. Paul's ideal of heroism; if the negative school be believed, he was a more direct antagonist even than Peter. It must have been fact, and not fancy, which induced the Gentile Apostle to crown him. And here again, as in the case of Peter, he had an opportunity from his own lips of learning the fact. In Galatians i. 19 he tells us this expressly: "Other of the apostles saw I none save James, the Lord's brother." He declares that, during the fifteen days of his stay at Jerusalem, he was in communication with one whom he now asserts to have been one of the witnesses of Christ's resurrection. The chain of evidence again appears to be complete.

The fifth appearance is thus described: "Then of *all* the apostles." The word "all" is suggestive; it evidently stands in contradistinction to something; is it to the *Twelve*, or is it to the solitary apostle James? If to the former, it indicates that the appearance to the *Twelve* was an appearance made to the Apostolate at a time when all its members were not present. If to the latter, it seems to us that it ought to decide the question as to the identity of James; if James was an Apostle at the date assigned to the resurrection, he could have been no other than the son of Alphæus. Be this as it may, however, we have here a second manifestation made to the apostolic company at a time when we are distinctly told that all its members were present. We have seen (1 Cor. xi. 23) that St. Paul was acquainted with the story of the betrayal; he probably, therefore, knew that the full number of the Apostles was at that time eleven. An appearance in every respect corre-

sponding to this description is recorded in our Gospels (St. John xx. 19, 26).

We come now to the sixth and final manifestation, that received by St. Paul himself: "Last of all He was seen of *me* also" (Verse 8). It has been thought that, in Verse 9, he falls into an irrelevant digression. If we deny the genuineness of the narrative in Acts, it is indeed irrelevant; but is not this just a presumption in favour of that narrative's authenticity? If we come to the passage before us with the historical account of St. Paul's conversion already in our minds, we shall see a close connection of thought, or rather of feeling, between the eighth and ninth Verses. When he says, "I am the least of all the apostles," there is clearly in his mind the conviction that he was the *last of all* because he was the *least of all*. When he says, in the same connection, that he persecuted the Church of God, he seems, to a reader of the Acts at least, to associate the Divine manifestation which he received with the time when he was a persecutor. We are, at all events, entitled to say that we have here a singular congruity of statement between the Epistle and the Acts; and, as the book of the Acts is confessedly the sequel of the third Gospel, we have another harmony added to the union of testimony between St. Paul and the Evangelists.

As to the value of this personal experience of St. Paul, it must depend upon the value we attach to his impersonal experiences. If we believe that the previous facts which he records existed only in his own imagination, we shall be justified in concluding that the personal vision which he received was the product of his own brain. But if we believe that the appearances to Cephas, to the Twelve, to the Five Hundred, to James, and to all the Apostles, were founded upon real historical evidence, we shall be bound in all logical fairness to place the vision of St. Paul on an equal level with them. If we admit Christ's resurrection at

all, and if we admit that He appeared at all, why should St. Paul's vision be esteemed a less certain witness than the others? The ascension of Christ was never regarded as an event which drew a hard and fast line between the natural and the supernatural; the early conception of the risen Christ is rather embodied in the words, "Lo, I am with you alway." An appearance after his ascension cannot be esteemed more supernatural than an appearance immediately after his resurrection. If we accept the spirit and teaching of our Gospels, we shall believe that the fact of the ascension detracted nothing from the fact of his humanity; but simply rendered invisible that human presence which had once been outwardly manifested: and we shall see no contradiction in the statement that from time to time in the early history of Christendom the veil which concealed his presence should have been momentarily withdrawn.

1 *Corinthians* xv. 29, 51, 52.—We have still two short annotations to append to this remarkable Chapter. The first is suggested by Verse 29: "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead." We have only here to consider the apologetic element in the passage. We gather from it that in the Church of Corinth there had grown up a practice of baptizing men as substitutes for those who had died without baptism. The existence of such a practice shews how deep and firm a hold the ordinance of baptism had taken on the Christian consciousness. By referring back to 1 *Corinthians* i. 13, we find that this ordinance was from the beginning indissolubly associated with the person of the Christian Founder; it was baptism, not into the name of Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, but into that of Christ. We need not say that St. Paul would never have made this statement unless he had known, as a historical fact, that baptism had been as much an institution of the Christian Founder as was the Sacrament of Communion. It is true,

the ceremony of baptism was in existence before the advent of Christianity, and St. Paul must have known that well; but all the more on that account would he have been prone to disparage it, as he did circumcision, unless he had believed assuredly that it had received a sanction from the lips of the Christian Founder. Here, therefore, we have incontestable evidence that, according to the earliest Christian tradition, the sacrament of baptism was instituted by the command or with the sanction of Christ Himself.

Our second note is on Verses 51 and 52. St. Paul, as we have seen, wrote nothing which he did not believe himself to have received in germ from the Christian Founder. If the Christian Founder uttered the discourse attributed to Him in St. Matthew xxiv., we have found the germ of the Pauline revelation exhibited in this passage. With "*The trumpet shall sound,*" compare St. Matthew xxiv. 31, "He shall send his angels *with a great sound of a trumpet.*" With "*In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye,*" compare St. Matthew xxiv. 27, "*As the lightning cometh out of the east,*" etc. The idea in St. Matthew is evidently that of suddenness as well as of clear revelation; and this is confirmed when we take in connection with this passage Verses 42 and 43 of the same Chapter. "*We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed,*" says St. Paul; and we would ask if even this mystery may not have its germ in the somewhat obscure promise of St. Matthew xxiv. 40, "*One shall be taken, and the other left*"?

G. MATHESON.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN
THEIR BEARING ON THE OLD TESTAMENT
SCRIPTURES.

XI. SOLOMON AND THE KINGS OF THE HITTITES.

IT is not without a certain sense of disappointment that the student of Assyrian inscriptions finds that they make no mention of the reigns of the two kings who ruled over an undivided Israel. The conquests of David as "he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates" (2 Sam. viii. 3); his defeat of the king of Zobah and of the Syrians of Damascus; Solomon's alliance with Egypt and with Tyre (1 Kings iii. 1; v. 1), and his sovereignty "over all kingdoms from the river (*i.e.*, the Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and the border of Egypt" (1 Kings iv. 21); the tribute that came from Arabia, and the commerce carried on with the East by the ships of Tarshish (1 Kings x. 15, 22); the foundation of a great city like Tadmor in the wilderness (1 Kings ix. 18); these, we think, must have forced the new monarchy of Israel on the notice of the Assyrian kings. How is it that while the inscriptions of a later date make mention, as we shall see, of Omri and Jehu and Uzziah and Ahaz and Hezekiah, of kings of the Philistines and of Tyre, we have no record of this close contact with Israel under David and Solomon?

A partial answer is found in the comparative scantiness of Assyrian records at this period. Between Tiglath-Pileser I. (*circ.* B.C. 1130-1110), great as a conqueror and ruler, and Assur-nazir-pal (= Asshur protects his son) the builder of the great palace at Calah (*Nimroud*), who (*circ.* B.C. 884-859) "possessed the countries from the banks of the Tigris even to Lebanon," and "subjected to his power the great seas and all lands from the rising even to the going down of the sun" (*R. P.*, iii. 37), we have the names of eleven kings,

which include a change of dynasty, but no record of their achievements (Lenormant, *Anc. Hist.*, i. 375-377; Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarchies*, ii. 291). It may legitimately be inferred from this that the Assyrian power was, during this period, in a state of comparative decadence. One of these, Asshura-bamar (*circ.* B.C. 1080), is recorded to have been conquered in a decisive battle by the king of the Hittites, and this obviously may have prepared the way for the conquests of David and Solomon (*circ.* B.C. 1055-1000), especially if they appeared on the scene as the allies of the old enemies of Assyria, the Hittites, who inflicted this defeat.

Of such an alliance the records of the Old Testament present sufficient evidence. The most striking fact is, perhaps, the presence among the generals of David's army—one of the first "thirty" (2 Sam. xxiii. 39), high in honour and office—of the Hittite Uriah, whose name is familiar to us in its connexion with the dark tragedy of the king's crime. The high rank of the position which he occupied is shewn by the fact that his wife Bathsheba was the grand-daughter of Ahithophel, the king's chosen counsellor (2 Sam. xi. 3; xxiii. 34), the daughter of one who, as also of the "chief thirty," was Uriah's companion in arms (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). The way in which he speaks of the ark of God (2 Sam. xi. 11) indicates that he had become a proselyte to the religion of Israel, and shewed the reality of his faith by the nobleness and devotion of his character. Another Hittite, Ahimelech, appears as the companion of David and Abishai (1 Sam. xxvi. 6). Hittite women, probably princesses, were found in Solomon's harem (1 Kings xi. 1). In 1 Kings x. 28, 29; 2 Chron. i. 14-17, we have a distinct view of the commerce carried on between the two nations. The "merchants of Solomon," the king apparently making the trade a government monopoly, imported "horses and linen yarn" from Egypt, at a fixed price, and

in this way he "brought out *horses* for all the kings of the Hittites and all the kings of Aram (—Syria)." Geographically the rulers so named correspond with "all the kings on this side the river (Euphrates)" of 1 Kings iv. 24, who were in some sense subject to Solomon, and we are led to the conclusion that the Northern Hittites were a powerful confederacy of princes, owning at this time the suzerainty of the king of Israel, and probably favouring the establishments of outposts like Baalath and Tadmor as a defence against their more northern neighbours on the Tigris or Euphrates.

Of these Hittites, however, the records of the Old Testament tell us comparatively little. In Gen. xxiii. 10 they appear as settled at Mamre, afterwards Hebron, and conveying the cave and field of Machpelah to Abraham with all the formal precision of a people accustomed to such transactions.¹ Esau takes to himself two wives of the daughters of Heth (Gen. xxvi. 34). They are named in all the lists of the seven nations of Canaan in the book of Exodus, commonly standing second (Exod. iii. 8, 17; xxiii.

¹ It is interesting to compare the form of what we may call the earliest "deed of conveyance" extant,—“Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant. And the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city” (Gen. xxiii. 17, 18),—with the like forms of the Assyrian contract tables translated by Mr. Sayce (*R. P.*, i. 137–139), attested by nail marks in place of seals, *e.g.*, “The whole house, with its wood-work and its doors, situated in the city of Nineveh, adjoining the houses of Mannu-ci-akhi and Ilu-ciya, and the property of Sukaki, he has sold, and Tsillu-Assur, the astronomer, an Egyptian, for one *maneh* of silver, according to the royal standard, in the presence of Sarru-ludari, Atarsuru, and Amat-Suhala the wife of its owner, has received it. The full sum thou hast given. This house has been taken. The exchange and the contract are concluded. There is no withdrawal.” Then follow penalties in the case of a breach of contract, and the names of witnesses, and the date. As most of these contracts refer to the *maneh* of Carchemish as a standard of value, it is probable that here too the formulæ were of Hittite origin, adopted by the Assyrians.

23), or third as in Josh. xi. 3, while in Josh. ix. 1; xii. 8, their name stands first in the list. It was probably a consequence of the Israelite conquest of Canaan that they retired northwards to the valley of the Orontes, and were drawn, both by race and trade affinities, to ally themselves with the Phœnicians, and possibly, as we have seen in the section on Balaam (EXPOSITOR for June), to take part, under the slightly varied name of Khittim, in the colonization of Cyprus.

The people of whom the annals of Israel tell us so little are, however, prominent enough in those of Assyria and Egypt. Thus, in Sir H. Rawlinson's translation of an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., shortly before the time of David, the king boasts that "the Lord Asshur had committed to his hand a powerful rebel-subduing army," with which he had conquered 4,000 of two rebellious tribes of the Kheti (Hittites), who submitted without fighting, and from whom he took 120 of their chariots" (*R. P.*, v. 12). Elsewhere in the same inscription he relates his triumphs over them as far as Qarqanis (=Carchemish), which belonged to them and which he plundered of all its treasures and goods and chattels (*Ibid.*, p. 18), and that he subdued "from beyond the river Zab, plain, forest, and mountain, to beyond (*i.e.*, west of) the river Euphrates, the country of the *Khatte* (also Hittites), and the upper ocean of the setting sun" (*Ibid.*, p. 20). The last phrase obviously points to the coasts of Phœnicia, and possibly to Cyprus, as occupied by, or at least in alliance with, the Hittites. He adds that he "brought them under one government, placed them under the Magian religion, and imposed on them tribute and offerings."

From Tiglath-Pileser I. we pass to the next great monarch of Assyria, Assur-nazir-pal (B.C. 884-853), whose annals found at Calah (*Nimroud*) have been translated by Mr. Sayce. He too conquered Carchemish, and dwells at

length on the tribute he received there from Sangara, king of Aram (Syria), gold, silver, copper, "the extensive furniture of his palace . . . female slaves, vestments of wool and linen, beautiful black coverings, beautiful purple coverings, precious stones, horns of buffaloes, white chariots, images of gold . . . the chariots and warlike engines of the general of Carchemish" (*R. P.*, iii. 72). From other cities of the Khatti (Hittites), Gaza, and Kanulua, he took spoil of like character (*Ibid.*, pp. 72-3), from another stores of wheat and barley, and thence passed on to subdue the cities of Phœnicia, "Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad on the sea-coast" (*Ibid.*, p. 74).

Scarcely less conspicuous are the Hittites for their power and wealth in the annals of Egyptian conquerors. The great Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greek historians (circ. B.C. 1388-1322), in the third Sallier papyrus (*R. P.*, ii. 67-78) dwells on his conquest of the "vile chief of Cheta" as the greatest of his triumphs. Mesopotamia and Carchemish were in alliance with the Hittites. They mustered 2500 chariots, but the Egyptians prevailed and the soldiers of Rameses sang his praises. "Thou guardest Egypt, chastisest lands of thy foes, bruise the head of Cheta for ever" (p. 75). "Thy spirit is mighty; thy strength weighs heavy on Cheta-land" (p. 77).¹

Both the Biblical and the extra-Biblical notices of the Khita or Hittites indicate, as we have seen, a people of commercial habits and corresponding wealth. One striking example of this is seen in the fact that the coinage of their chief city was recognized as of exceptionally high value,

¹ See also Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii. 45-48. The victories of Rameses II. were recorded not only in the poem of Pentaur, but in a series of pictures on the walls of the Temple of Abydos, which represent the several stages of the campaign; the armies of the king distinguished by their complexion and equipment from the Khita and their allies; the chariots of the Khita thrown into the river Orontes; the capture of the great Hittite city, Kadesh, which stood upon its banks.

so that Assyrian contract notes provide specially for the payment of so many "*manchs* of silver according to the standard of Carchemish" (*R. P.*, i. 138; vii. 114).¹ The precision with which the purchase of the cave of Machpelah is recorded and the weighing of the four hundred shekels "current money with the merchant" (*Gen.* xxiii. 16) gives proof, as has been shewn above, of business habits of the same character.

XII. HOSEA, SHALMAN, AND KING JAREB.

In the later history of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah we pass from the fragmentary notices and incidental points of contact with Assyria, which have hitherto come before us, to something like a continuous chronicle. The earliest record of Assyrian intervention is found not in the Jewish, but the Assyrian annals. Shalmaneser II. (*Sayce*) or IV. (*Lenormant*) in the Monolith and Black Obelisk inscriptions, found by Sir A. Layard at *Nimroud*, relates how it came to pass. There had probably been a conquest which involved the payment of tribute, as early as the reign of Ahab (*R. P.*, iii. 99), but a fuller subjugation took place in the reign of Jehu, when Hazael, king of Syria, "smote them in all the coasts of Israel, from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan" (*2 Kings* x. 32, 33). Hazael, like his predecessor Benhadad, probably the RIMMON-IDRI of the inscriptions, was in alliance with a confederacy of twelve kings of the Kheta or Hittites.

¹ So, according to one etymology, our "sterling" as applied to money comes from "Easterling," the coin of the Hanse towns of Eastern Germany having become famous for its purity about the time of Richard I. Our Troy weight, in like manner, bears witness to the commercial importance of Troyes in the middle ages. Guinea, Florin, Mark, Thaler, present analogous instances. (*Taylor, Words and Places*, p. 455).

Shalmaneser put forth all his strength to crush a power that was becoming dangerous.

"In my eighteenth year for the sixteenth time the Euphrates I crossed. Hazael of Damascus to battle came. 1,221 of his chariots, 470 of his war-carriages with his camp I took from him. . . ."

"In my twenty-first campaign for the twenty-first time the Euphrates I crossed; to the cities of Hazael of Damascus I went. Four of his fortresses I took. The tribute of the Tyrians, the Zidonians, and the Gebalites I received. . . ." (*R. P.*, v. 34, 35).

We are left so far to conjecture what line of action was taken by the king of Israel. We may infer from the fact that no victory over him is recorded, that he offered no resistance to the progress of the Assyrian arms. He might well watch with satisfaction the overthrow of the Syrian king. It seems probable enough that he had invited the assistance of Shalmaneser. The probability passes almost to a certainty when we turn from the annals of the Black Obelisk to the sculptures on its base. In one of these we have the figure of a king doing homage, prostrate at the feet of the Assyrian monarch, and the epigraph that accompanies it gives the name of the suppliant.

"The tribute of Yahua son of Khumri (= Jehu, son of Omri), silver, gold, bowls of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, sceptres for the king's hand and staves" (*R. P.*, v. 41).

It is singular enough to find Jehu, whose special work it was to overthrow and extirpate the whole house of Ahab, the actual son of Omri, described officially as if he were of the same dynasty. We may infer from the fact that, little as is recorded of him in the Bible narrative, the name of Omri had become famous, and carried with it a prestige which Jehu was unwilling to forfeit. Succession in the East was constantly identified with a figurative filiation, and it was doubtless part of the policy of Jehu to represent

himself as continuing rather than interrupting the line of the great hero-king.

The history thus brought to light explains some otherwise obscure passages in the earliest prophet who makes distinct mention of Assyria, the earliest also in the chronological arrangement of the prophetic writings. We find in Hosea x. 14, a text which has almost to the present day been the stumbling-block of interpreters. The prophet predicts the sore judgment that shall fall upon Ephraim, *e.g.*, the northern kingdom of Israel. "All thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-Arbel in the day of battle; the mother was dashed to pieces upon her children." All the ancient versions go wildly astray in their interpretation. The LXX. gives, scarcely intelligibly, "As the ruler Salaman from the house of Jerubbaal in the days of war dashed on the ground the mother upon the children;" the Vulgate, "As Salmána was laid waste by the house of him who judged Baal in the day of battle, when the mother was dashed upon the children." It is clear that both versions rest on a confused identification of Shalman with the Zalmunna, king of the Midianites, of Judges viii. 5—that they followed a conjectural reading which turned "Arbel" into "Jerubbaal" (= "Let Baal plead;" or "Baal is the pleader or avenger"), the name which attached to Gideon after his throwing down the Baal-altar in his father's house (Judges vi. 32; viii. 29). Every element of historical probability is, however, against this identification. There is no record of any deeds of cruelty, of any capture of a city, by the Zalmunna of the Gideon history. The English Version follows Luther, and in so doing at least avoids what is a blunder at once of translation and of history. Who Shalman was remained, however, an unsolved problem. Most commentators assumed that it was a shortened form of Shalmaneser; but then there was the difficulty, that the only Assyrian king of that name

who was then known, invaded and took Samaria at a later date than that of Hosea's prophecy, and it was further asked why, if the name was written in its full form in 2 Kings xvii. 3, it should appear clipped and curtailed as it is supposed to do here.¹ Some scholars, accordingly, (*e.g.*, Fürst, *Lex.*, *s.v.* Shalman) assumed an early king of Assyria bearing the name of Shalman. Ewald, with his characteristic genius for divination, ventured, before the discoveries of Assyrian scholars, on the conjecture that there must have been an earlier monarch of the name of Shalmaneser, one of whose acts of vindictive cruelty is here recorded. That conjecture is confirmed, as we have seen, by the inscription of the Black Obelisk of the British Museum. There *was* an earlier Shalmaneser, the contemporary of Hazael and of Jehu, conspicuous for his victories and his cruelties. "The cities to a countless number I threw down, dug up, and burnt with fire . . . With the chief of his young warriors his broad fields I filled . . . The rebels whom I had taken I fixed on stakes. Two hundred and fifty of their cities I threw down, dug up, and burned with fire . . . Pyramids of the heads of the people over against his great gate I built up . . . heaps on stakes I impaled." These are samples taken almost at random from the king's records of his victories (*R. P.*, v. 36-41, iii. 95). Like cruelties, it will be remembered, were perpetrated by Hazael, against whom he made war (2 Kings viii. 12).

The question where Beth-Arbel was presents another

¹ The answer to that question, however, is probably not far to seek. Nothing is more common in the intercourse between nations who speak different languages, than this popular abbreviation of long and unfamiliar names. Another probable instance of it will meet us in the case of Pul, the successor of Shalmaneser. Even within our own memory the Shalmaneser of France was known to a large portion of the working class of England not as Napoleon or Buonaparte, but as "Boney." It is significant in its bearing on this question, that the name of this earlier Shalmaneser is the only name of an Assyrian king that is divided in the inscriptions—"Shalman" in one line and "eser" in the next. (Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 247.)

difficulty. There is an Arbela of world-wide fame as the scene of one of Alexander the Great's battles, within the Assyrian kingdom, east of the Tigris. There is another named in 1 Macc. ix. 2, and by Josephus (*Ant.*, xii. 11, 1; xiv. 15, 4), which the latter places in Galilee. Each of these has found advocates (Fürst, *c.g.*, supposing that the former city had sustained a siege from the Assyrians, the horrors of which had become proverbial), but as yet there are no adequate *data* for a decision. The way in which Hosea speaks of it as a place well known, and the combination *Beth-Arbel* is, perhaps, in favour of the Galilean rather than the Assyrian city. On the other hand, Mr. Sayce (*R. P.*, iii. 96, and Schrader, *Keilinsch.*, p. 139) find in the Monolith inscription of Shalmaneser the record of an eastern expedition which included Arbela. "In the lowlands of the country of Kirruri, at the entrance of the city of Arbail (= Arbela) came I forth." In any case the horrors of its capture had made an impression on the minds of men, like that made on the mind of Europe in the sixteenth century by the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon (A.D. 1527), or that of Magdeburgh by Tilly in the Thirty Years War (A.D. 1661).

Another theory, also connected with the inscriptions, has, however, to be noticed. In one of the records of Tiglath-Pileser there has been found the name "Salamanu" as a king of Moab, from whom he received tribute about B.C. 732, and it has been conjectured that this was the king who attacked a Galilean or Trans-jordanic Beth-Arbel, and whose capture was signalled by the atrocities of which Hosea speaks (Menant, *Annales*, p. 144, quoted in *Speaker's Commentary*, vi. 473). Leaving this as a question more or less unsettled, we gain from Hosea a vivid picture of the state of feeling produced in Israel, as afterwards in Judah, by the intervention of Assyria in their political relations. Placed as they were between the two

rival monarchies of the Tigris and the Nile, and conscious of their weakness in comparison with either, their position offers a striking parallel to that of Afghanistan in our own times between England and Russia. They felt, to use the homely similitude of Lord Lytton's despatch to the unhappy Shere Ali,—a similitude which might almost have come from the lips of Rabshakeh,—that they were as the earthen vessel between two vessels of iron, all but certain to be crushed in any case, vainly trying to wriggle out of their difficulties by attempts, like those of the Afghan king, to play off one power against the other as opportunity might offer. "Ephraim is like a silly dove without heart; they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria" (Hos. vii. 11). The prophet saw nothing but evil as the result of that policy. Shame, disaster, exile would be its certain outcome. "They shall not dwell in the Lord's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria" (Hos. ix. 3). "Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them" (Hos. ix. 6). "When Ephraim saw his sickness, and Judah saw his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and sent to king Jareb; yet could he not heal you, nor cure you of your wound" (Hos. v. 13). In relying on the protection of Assyria they were courting their own destruction. "It" (the glory of Bethel; the treasures and idols of the sanctuary of Israel, including, probably, the golden calf) "shall be also carried unto Assyria for a present to king Jareb: Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel" (Hos. x. 6). The Egyptian alliance, on which men rested their hopes, should be without result except for evil. "He (Ephraim) shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his king" (Hos. xi. 5). "They shall tremble as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria" (Hos. xi. 11). Their one hope was in returning to the Lord, to Jehovah

whom they had forsaken, with the cry of penitents, "Take away all our iniquity, and receive us graciously" (Hos. xiv. 2). The prophet's last words of warning were, "Asshur shall not save us," neither Assyria, nor the god whom the Assyrians worshipped, and from whom they took their name (Hos. xiv. 3).

It will have been noticed that twice in the course of his collected prophecies Hosea speaks of an Assyrian "king Jareb." No name in the slightest degree approaching to this in sound is found in the inscriptions, and we are left to the conclusion that it must have been like the Rahab (=the proud, or haughty one) which appears in Ps. lxxxvii. 4; lxxxix. 10; and Isa. li. 9, as a synonym for Egypt, a word, used not without a touch of irony, as descriptive of what seemed to the prophet the characteristic feature of the Assyrian monarch. Looking to its etymology, the name might be rendered, like the prefix in the name of Jerubbaal (=let Baal plead) assumed by Gideon (Judges vi. 32), "he who pleads," the "advocate," or the "avenger." Jerome, so wildly astray in the matter of Shalman, is here on the right track, and translates it in both passages by "*ultor*" (= "the avenger"). The significance of the name lies almost on the surface. The Assyrian king, to whom Israel was turning for help, would prove no helper, rather would prove to be the "pleader" for his own cause, the "advocate" of his country's gods, the "avenger" at once of the wrongs which, from his point of view, had been done to those gods by all who rebelled against him, and of the sins which had in reality drawn down the chastisement with which the God of Israel was visiting his people. We cannot read the inscriptions of Assyrian kings, like Shalmaneser, Tiglath-Pileser and others, without seeing that, from their point of view, their wars were, like those of Mahomet and his successors, religious wars, wars of propagandism. They begin the record of their victories by boasting of the favour

of Asshur or of Bel. They claim that favour by subduing those who have rebelled against the great gods of Assyria; they are, as it were, "defenders of the faith."

So, *e.g.*, Assur-nazir-pal (*R. P.*, iii. 40, 41) describes himself as—

"A warrior who in the service of Asshur his lord hath proceeded . . . trampling on all foes, crushing assemblages of rebels; who in the service of the great gods, his lords, marched vigorously . . . a Prince who in the service of Asshur and the Sun-god, the gods in whom he trusted, loyally marched to turbulent lands:" His boast is, "the enemies of Asshur in all their country the upper and lower I chastised." He is "the restorer of the worship of the goddesses and that of the great gods."

So Shalmaneser II., the king whom we identify with Shalman (*R. P.*, iii. 83-100), is "the purified of the gods, the servant of the eyes of Bel, the high-priest of Asshur." And again (*R. P.*, v. 32),—

"The city of Tel-Abni . . . I captured . . . The weapons of Asshur in the midst of it I rested. Sacrifices for my gods I took. . . An image of my royalty I constructed. The laws of Asshur my lord, the records of my victories . . . in the midst of it I wrote."

So, to take one more instance, Tiglath-Pileser I. (*R. P.*, v. 7) puts himself under the protection of Abnil, an Assyrian deity identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with Hercules (?) "the champion who subdues *heretics* and enemies." He himself "subdues the enemies of Asshur"—is "the subjugator of the rebellious, . . . who has overrun the whole Magian world" (p. 12). . . . "The countries of Tsaravas and Ammavas, which from the olden time had never submitted, I swept like heaps of stubble. . . . I bore away their gods. The heavy yoke of my empire I imposed on them. I attached them to the worship of Asshur" (p. 14). . . . Tseni, the king of Dayáni . . .

I had mercy on him. I left him in life to learn the worship of the great gods from my city of Asshur" (p. 17).

It is surely no cause for wonder that a ruler who embodied this policy should be designated by a name which marked him out as the *Jareb*, the *champion king*. The fact that the surname given to Gideon was probably emphasized in its irony by its being the title of a Phœnician and Palmyrene deity (Movers, *Phöniz.*, i. 432) of the Heracles type, meaning probably, as so used, "Baal pleads," i.e., "prevails," makes it not unlikely that we have an allusive reference, in its use by Hosea, to the old Gideon history.

It is, I venture to add, a not improbable supposition that the name of Shalmaneser in its popular abbreviated form, had something to do with reviving the memories of that history. If the LXX. and Vulgate were led to confound that name with Zalmunna, it was at least likely that the prophet and people of Israel should associate the two in their thoughts, and see in the similarity of sounds an omen that the fate of the new invader would be like that of the old. Traces of the fresh prominence given about this time to the ancient victory over the Midianites appear in two other passages of the Old Testament, on which accordingly the Shalmaneser inscriptions throw some light. (1) In Ps. lxxxiii. 6, 7, we have the records of a confederacy against Israel, formed with a view to its utter extirpation. It included nearly all the old hereditary enemies of the people, —Edomites, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Ammonites, Gebal, Amalek, Philistines, and Tyrians. Last, but not least, in this list, reserved as it were for the sake of emphasis, Assyria comes in. "Assur also is joined with them; they have holpen the children of Lot." The occasion of the Psalm has been found by most commentators in the attack on Judah, made in the reign of Jehoshaphat by "the children of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and others

besides the Ammonites" (2 Chron. xx. 1); and these "others" are identified in verse 10 with the Edomites of Mount Seir. Here, however, there is no mention of Assyria, and at that time it was indeed scarcely within the political horizon of Judah and Israel. In a later reign, that of Uzziah, and therefore nearer the time of Hosea, whose prophetic work began under that king, we find the king at war with the Philistines, Arabians, and Ammonites (2 Chron. xxvi. 6-8). Assyria, it is true, does not appear in the Old Testament narrative here any more than it had done in the history of Jehoshaphat. Traces of a war, unrecorded by the Jewish historians, in which Assyria was victorious, are, however, found in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II. (*R. P.*, v. 45, 46). The first part of the tablet is so mutilated, that I quote only the few lines in which the translator finds the name of the Jewish king:—

"Azariah, of the land of Judah . . .
 Of Assyria the great, they heard and their heart feared. . . .
 . . . I pulled down. I raged . . .
 To Azariah went over and strengthened him. . . ."

* * * * *

Another tablet, less fragmentary, records a victory over "the city of Hammatti" (Hamath), "together with the cities which were around them, which are beside the sea of the setting sun, who, in seditious rebellion, to Azariah had gone over, to the boundaries of Assyria, I added . . ." (p. 46). It seems clear from this that there was an invasion of Judah by Tiglath-Pileser II. in the days of Uzziah (= Azariah), and that this king was treated as a rebel. Rebellion in such a case implies a previous subjection, and this may well have been connected with Shalmaneser II.'s victory over Hazael, and the capture (if we adopt that identification) of the Galilean Beth-Arbel, which lay on the border of the two kingdoms of Syria and Israel, and

must have passed often, like other cities in the same region, from the hands of one to those of the other (2 Kings xiii. 3, 22, 25). If so, the association of which I have spoken may well have carried the thoughts of the Psalmist, when Assyria joined in alliance with the other enemies of his people, to the victory once gained over an invader whose name, in the shorter form of Shalman, seemed almost reproduced in that of the Assyrian king, and prompted the prayer, "Do unto them as unto the Midianites . . . Make their nobles like Oreb and like Zeeb: yea, all their princes as Zebah and as *Zalmunna*" (Ps. lxxxiii. 11).

(2) The words of the Psalmist find an echo in those of a prophet who carried on his work, starting, indeed, somewhat later, in the same reign as Hosea, and who also had present to his thoughts the perils of an Assyrian invasion, and he too recalls the victory of Jerubbaal, "Thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian" (Isa. ix. 4). It is, I think, scarcely possible to resist the conclusion that Hosea and Isaiah and the Psalmist were all under the influence of the same train of associations, and that those associations had their starting point in the revival of all the glorious memories of the "day of Midian," consequent on the chance resemblance of the names Shalman and Zalmunna. The fact that Ps. lxxxiii. is ascribed to Asaph in its heading proves, I need hardly say, nothing as to its date. The facts to which it refers, are incompatible with any hypothesis that would make it the personal composition of the Levite minstrel who was contemporary with David (1 Chron. vi. 39; xv. 17-19; 2 Chron. v. 12), and the psalms of Asaph must be regarded, like the poems of the Greek Homeridæ, as the works of a school of hymn-writers who looked on him as their head and founder. It is characteristic of their section of the Psalter, that it consists, for the most part, of national hymns, the prayers or praises of the

people in a time of calamity and war, and that they fit in with hardly an exception, like the Psalms of the “sons of Korah,” with the period of the Assyrian invasions.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF Ἀπόλλυμι.

It is one of the palmary arguments of those who advocate the doctrine of “Conditional Immortality,” that ἀπόλλυμι and its correlates, verbal and substantival, when applied to human beings, “bear, in Greek *prose*, only one signification—that which is self-evident;”¹ and this signification is further defined to be “in Plato, and all other known classical writers, *literal destruction* or *abolition of life*.” It is admitted, of course, in passing that ἀπόλλυμι has the “secondary idiomatic sense of *to lose*;” and that “there are examples in the tragedians, in the ‘hyperbole of passion and poetry,’ in which the idea of *misery* and *pain* might seem to be more prominent than the *destruction* they were bringing on; but these are exceedingly rare, and in no cases occur, so far as [Mr. White] can ascertain, except when the misery is likely to *end* in destruction.” Moreover, it is unreasonable, we are told, to urge “‘figurative’ senses on the strength of quotations supposed to contain similar figures, *taken from the Greek poets*;” for “in a grave *philosophical* or *religious* treatise these [‘strong’] words must be taken in their proper and obvious meaning.” Were it otherwise, we are reminded, “the Greek world” would have had “*to learn a new Greek language before it could understand the apostles*.”

¹ For this and the succeeding quotations, see Mr. E. White’s *Life in Christ* (3rd edition), pp. 403, 366, 367, 365. The italics are Mr. White’s.

I cannot but suppose that those who wish to clench this argument would gladly include in their category of Greek prose the Greek prose of the age of the Septuagint and of the New Testament; indeed, if this were excluded, their argument would be somewhat significantly deficient. Now I have had occasion of late to look once more, here and there, into a few of the prose writers of the period I have mentioned, and, among these, into Polybius, a writer of history, born in the century in which the Septuagint version was made; into Philo, the Jewish philosopher and exegete, a contemporary of our Lord; and more especially into Plutarch, a writer of most passable Greek prose and of "grave philosophical and religious" (or, at any rate, moral) "treatises," in the second half of the first century; and perhaps the readers of the EXPOSITOR may find some interest in judging for themselves of the sense of ἀπόλλυμι and the like, in a few passages which have fallen across my path. To turn this casual "dipping" into a complete investigation, would call for liberal leisure, or else for *Indices Verborum*—those kindly short-cuts with which, in this particular instance, German industry and devotion have not yet, so far as I know, come to our rescue.

I understand Mr. White's position to be—that the moral sense of ἀπόλλυμι, whether altogether excluding or altogether overshadowing the connotation of the *literal abolition of life*, cannot be found in Greek prose. Let us first see whether it can be found in the plain historical prose of Polybius.

In Book xxxii. chap. 19, he is telling how it came about that war was declared in 597 A.U.C. by the Romans against the Dalmatians; and, among other causes he mentions that the senate was anxious to stir up afresh the military spirit among the Italians. "They did not wish the people in Italy," says he, "κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἀπόλλυσθαι διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην, i.e. to become in any way demoral-

ized, ruined in *morale*, by reason of the long peace.¹ For it was then twelve years since the war with Perseus and the campaign in Macedonia." It can hardly be contended by any one that "non-existence," either immediate or remote, is here intended to be expressed by ἀπόλλυσθαι. Schweighäuser translates it by *otio corrumpi*, and the Dübner edition by *longa pace torpere*; and the idea conveyed is, degeneracy in those qualities which, according to the Roman estimate, "made the man."

Plutarch, in his life of the Greek patriot Aratus (chap. 51), uses another "strong word" of this same family, *viz.* ἐξώλης, when speaking of Philip V. of Macedon, without any apparent reference to his end. He is describing the change that had come over the relations between Aratus and the king, and likewise over the character of the king himself. "For," says he, "Philip seems to have most extraordinarily and unexpectedly changed from a gentle king and a self-controlled youth, to a licentious man and an abandoned tyrant (ἀνὴρ ἀσελγῆς καὶ τύραννος ἐξώλης)." This word, which is own brother to ἀπολωλώς, had been already used to the same purpose in the familiar Greek of Aristophanes and in the forensic vocabulary of Demosthenes; who, in his speech against Theocrines (§ 82), affirms that there is "no race of men more abandoned (*i.e.*, *morally unmanned*) than the race of informers." And here I may be allowed to illustrate the kinship of ἐξώλης and ἀπολωλώς by a quotation from a writer of elegant and refined Greek prose in the first century,—I mean Dion "the golden-mouthed," one of the most eminent of Greek rhetoricians and moralists. He is treating (xxx. 348 c) of divers iniquities, and, among them, one which "must be," he says, "pre-eminently abominable, considering that it is not committed even among them that are utterly abandoned (τοῖς

¹ Compare Falstaff's description of his ragamuffin company: "The cankers of a calm world and a long peace."

ἑσχάτως ἀπολωλόσι),” i.e., “past all moral recovery.” I should not care to be one of those who would maintain that Dion was here thinking of the future non-existence of the ἑσχάτως ἀπολωλότες. Wytttenbach translates the words by *vitiis corrupti*, and explains them by *διεφθαρμένοι*, another of the “strong expressions” for destruction. The wretches here spoken of are Cicero’s *omnium hominum perditissimi*, and nothing more, just as ἑσχάτως ἐξώλεις would have been. The sense is surely metaphorical and moral only; a hastened or aggravated abolition of life is left out of account.

Plutarch again uses the word ἀπόλλυμι in the treatise “On the Love of Riches” (chap. vii.). Pointing out the perniciousness of the training imparted by misers to their children, he says: “The children they think to educate they ruin and pervert (ἀπολλύουσι καὶ¹ προσδιαστρέφουσι), implanting in them their own miserliness and meanness, just as if they were building in their heirs a castle to guard the inheritance. For this is their teaching and exhortation: ‘Get gain and be thrifty, and measure your worth by your purse.’ Now this is not to educate, but to abase (or, perhaps, *draw together* ²), and sew up, as you would a purse, that it may hold and keep safe what is put into it. But while the purse becomes foul and fetid after the money has been put into it, the children of misers, even before they inherit the wealth, are filled with their fathers’ covetousness.” To make ἀπόλλυμι here include the idea of literal abolition of life, appears to me to be the introduction of a harsh and inharmonious element.

¹ Plutarch has a great fancy for compounds with πρὸς. (Compare the passage subsequently quoted from his *Life of Antony*.) Perhaps this πρὸς is like the American “to that,” and our “too”: e.g. “I won a case, and a big case to that,” δίκην εἶλον, καὶ μεγάλην γε πρὸς. The πρὸς in προσδιαστρέφουσιν seems to suggest, therefore, that the διαστρέφουσιν is here even stronger than the ἀπολλύουσιν —possibly a clearer and more vigorous definition of it.

² i.e. if συστέλλειν and ἀπορράπτειν are both used of the purse. But συστέλλειν may also signify “to contract,” “lower” the character.

Moral ruin from a cause diametrically opposite is likewise expressed by the same verb, where Plutarch is illustrating his discussion "On the Avoidance of Debt," by a story of the high-minded Philoxenus, the renowned dithyrambic poet of Cythera. At one time (as we know from other sources) Philoxenus took up his abode at the court of Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse; but soon after, for his attacks upon its luxury or for some other reason, he was cast into prison. His subsequent release and restoration to favour did not induce him to remain in that deteriorating atmosphere. So afraid was he of being demoralized by the profuseness around him, that not only did he quit the tyrant's court, but, according to Plutarch's story, gave up a large and valuable estate, and left the island. "'By heaven,' said he, as he looked upon the luxury and effeminacy and barbarity" (*ἀμουνσία*—Mr. Matthew Arnold's "barbarity") "so much in fashion, 'By heaven, these good things (of mine) shall not ruin me (*ἀπολεῖ*), but I them.'" The meaning of *ἀπολεῖ* here needs no further elucidation.

In the next quotation the sense of *ἀπόλλυμι* is more unmistakably mixed, but I think the passage is worth adducing.

In the Life of Marcus Antonius (chap. 66), Plutarch is describing the Triumvir's utter demoralization, as exhibited especially when Cleopatra, with her fleet, suddenly retreated from the battle of Actium. He tells us how, there and then, Antony showed himself bereft of the spirit of a commander, and even of a man; nay, how he seemed incapable even of thinking for himself, but, "as some one jokingly said, lived as the soul in the body of her he loved; dragged along by Cleopatra just as if he had grown to her, and was carried about with her from place to place." "For no sooner did he see her ship making off, than, forgetting all else and abandoning and deserting those who were fighting and dying in his cause, he changed his own ship for

a quinquireme, and, with only two attendants, went in pursuit of the woman that had already ruined him and would ruin him yet more (τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν ἤδη καὶ προσ-απολοῦσαν αὐτόν).” Antony’s ruin had already been accomplished, so the text informs us, though there was more to come. Cleopatra had led him to the bad all round: she had spoiled his character and ruined his prospects, and she would yet leave him a wreck of himself at the last. But I cannot help feeling that literal abolition of life is hardly in the writer’s thoughts at all.

Philo, I know, is dangerous ground, because of his tendency to allegory, and his Neo-Platonism. But Philo, though often fanciful, is often acute and ingenious; his treatises are “grave, philosophical, religious”; he was a Jew, and probably a Pharisee; and to a profound knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures he added an equally profound knowledge of the language and literature of Greece. St. Paul likewise was a Pharisee, and the two writers furnish some striking parallelisms alike in method and in expression, and in all probability it was in the Jewish schools of Alexandria that Apollos (perhaps the editor of the Epistle to the Hebrews) was trained to be “learned and mighty in the Scriptures.” From this Philo I shall be content to quote one passage, and leave it to speak for itself. In his treatise “On the Allegories of the Sacred Laws” (Book i., chap. 33), he is commenting on the passage in the Septuagint, Genesis ii. 17, “In the day in which ye eat thereof, ye shall die the death (θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε)”; and he deals with it as follows: “And yet, though they have eaten of it, they not only do not die, but they even beget children, and become the cause of life to others. What, then, are we to say? That death is of two kinds, the one being the death of the man, the other the peculiar death of the soul. The death of the man is the parting of soul from body; but the death of the soul is the destruction of virtue, and the

admission of vice. Accordingly, God says not merely ‘die (ἀποθανεῖν),’ but ‘die the death (θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν)’; pointing out not the common death, but the peculiar and special death which is the death of the soul, buried in passions and all kinds of vice. And we may almost say that the latter death is opposed to the former. For the former is the separation of what had before been combined, to wit, body and soul; but the latter, on the contrary, is the conjunction of both, under these conditions, that dominion lies with the inferior, the body, and subjection with the superior, the soul. And when God says, ‘die the death,’ observe that He is dealing with the death inflicted as a punishment, not with that which comes by nature. Natural death is that whereby the soul is parted from the body; but the death inflicted as a punishment is when the soul dies¹ the life of virtue (τὸν ἀρετῆς βίον θνήσκει), and lives only the life of vice. Well does Heracleitus also speak on this topic, agreeing with the doctrine of Moses: ‘We are ¹living the death of those men (ζῶμεν τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον), and we have ¹died their life (τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων βίον).’” This passage is not quoted in order to recommend Philo’s psychology; but it may suggest to some minds the possibility that the idea of moral death, as distinguished altogether from literal abolition of life, was one not entirely unfamiliar to the “Greek prose” world in the time of Christ.

In conclusion, I need hardly call attention to the fact that this paper is not intended as an attack upon the doctrine of “Conditional Immortality,” but rather as a demurrer to the “vigour and rigour” of the philology on which it is founded.

JOHN MASSIE.

¹ The English has here been purposely sacrificed with the view of preserving the Greek paradoxical parallels to our idioms, “live a life,” “die a death.”

BRIEF NOTICES.

AN astonishing and most happy change has taken place even during the brief space which has elapsed since *THE EXPOSITOR* came into existence, for which all intelligent readers of the Bible may well be grateful. In the brief "Notes on Commentaries" which appeared in this Magazine only five years ago, I had to lament that of many Scriptures, and those not the least important, it was impossible to find any exposition which could be honestly recommended to the English reader; nor were there then many signs that the want would be soon and worthily supplied. But now commentaries are appearing so rapidly and in such abundance that it is almost impossible to keep pace with them; and though some of them are of little value, and some are evidently issued by mere tradesmen who seek to turn the newly awakened interest in the study of the Bible to their own account, yet many of them are of a very high value, while a few are quite invaluable. The whole ground is not yet covered indeed; first rate commentaries on most of the historical books of the Old Testament and on the Minor Prophets are still lacking; but, with these and a few other exceptions, he must be hard to satisfy who would not be content with such aids to the study of Scripture as are now at our command. Cassell's New Testament, the Cambridge Bible for Schools, the Popular Commentary on the New Testament edited by Dr. Schaff, the additions made and still making to the Speaker's Commentary; these, with such masterly studies of separate books as Godet on St. Luke and St. John, Cheyne on Isaiah, Beet on Romans, have gone far toward filling up the gaps in our Biblical library.

And now I have to introduce to the readers of this Magazine a new candidate for public favour in *THE PULPIT COMMENTARY* (London: Kegan Paul and Co.), which, whatever objections may be taken to its general form and design, has already provided us with some expositions of no little worth. As yet I have only received four out of the six bulky volumes of this series, which have, I believe, already appeared; but these volumes are so bulky, and contain so much, that I cannot regret that, for the present at least, I have not been called to read any more of them.

It is quite impossible, in the limits of a brief notice, to review and characterize these ponderous volumes as they deserve. But I

may say at once that the expositions contained in them, especially considering that they are meant for popular use, maintain a very high level. From the strictly orthodox point of view, I doubt, for instance, whether any better commentary on the Book of Genesis has been written than that of Mr. Whitelaw, or has been written in a better spirit. The Dean of Canterbury's commentary on 1 Samuel is, as those who know him and his course of study would expect, quite the best help to the reading of that attractive book to be found in English literature. The commentary on Joshua by Mr. Lias is as scholarly, and painstaking, and effective as his contributions to the Cambridge Bible for Schools, which have been characterized in these pages more than once. Lord Hervey's commentary on Judges is hardly, I think, up to the mark of its companion volumes; on this Scripture Dr. Paulus Cassel's exposition given in Lange's "Bibelwerk" (Clarks: Edinburgh) still remains the best available for the English student. But in the same volume there is a brief exposition of the Book of Ruth, by Dr. James Morison, which is, to my mind, the gem of the whole collection. If a few phrases—anachronisms—could be struck out, mainly from the Introduction, the work would be as nearly perfect as one could hope to meet. It grates on one's taste to hear Naomi spoken of as an "*esteemed* and beloved mother-in-law," or Ruth as an "*interesting* and pensive-looking young woman," or as "*the elegant* and diligent gleaner"; and one a little wonders how so accomplished a master of our English tongue could have permitted some of these epithets to pass. But, these slight blemishes apart, his work calls for nothing but admiration and gratitude.

The homiletical inferences, given in a separate section under the heading "Homiletics," and drawn for the most part by the authors of the commentaries, are always unobjectionable and often very happy. But the "homilies" appended in great profusion to every brief fragment of the exposition seem to me an entire and lamentable mistake, although they constitute the *differentia* of this Commentary, and although no doubt they have done much to promote its sale, which I hear is very large and rapid. Some of these "homilies" are written by very capable men, and they often evince no little ingenuity and skill. But none the less, perhaps all the more, I gravely object to them, and that for many reasons, of which I will briefly indicate a few. (1) They swell the bulk of these volumes till the volumes grow unwieldy, and the task of

consulting them becomes difficult and onerous. (2) They abet and encourage a large class of men to continue preachers who, both for their own sake and for that of the Church, had far better betake themselves to some less exacting vocation, by furnishing them with "discourses" which they are unable to make for themselves. (3) They are out of keeping with the good work with which they are associated: the homilies throughout standing on a much lower level than the expositions to which they are appended. And (4), above all, they help to perpetuate precisely that sort of expository sermon which is unworthy of the name and goes far to bring the science of exposition into contempt. When a man has to make a whole homily on well nigh every verse in such books as Joshua or Judges, we all know what the result must be, whatever his learning or ability, how poor, jejune, and unprofitable, how far afield he must travel for his material, even if he do not have to make his bricks without any straw, and how his mind must be drawn away from the real moral of the story on which he professes to comment. If in reading these volumes I have sometimes been tempted to envy the expositor, I have never ceased to pity the homilist.

It is much to be hoped that the editors of this series, Canon Spence and Rev. Joseph Exell, should they carry out their work on its present unwieldy scale, will at least detach the commentaries from the vast mass of "homilies" in which they are imbedded, and allow those of us who do not want so much for our money to possess ourselves of these valuable expositions in a separate form.

I have also to advise our readers of another exposition of much value. Vol. II. of *The Popular Commentary on the New Testament*, edited by Dr. Schaff (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark), contains an exposition of THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, by *Professor Milligan* of Aberdeen, and *Dr. Moulton* of Cambridge. It is but a few months since Canon Westcott's commentary on this Gospel appeared; and it then seemed as if there would be no room for any other, of the same class, for many a long day to come. But I am bound to say that this subsequent, or rather subsequently published, exposition fully justifies its existence by its scholarship and by its sympathetic interpretation of St. John's profound words. To the scholar Canon Westcott's work must still stand first and highest; but, to the general reader, it may be doubted whether that of Drs. Milligan and Moulton may not prove to be the more useful;

while even the scholar may derive from it many hints the full worth of which he alone will be able to appreciate.

But of all the expositions I have met with for many months past, none has hit me so hard as that which *Canon Evans* has contributed to Vol. III. of *THE SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY* on the New Testament (London: Murray). It is one of the most original, scholarly, and fascinating commentaries in the whole range of Biblical literature. I doubt whether we have a score as masterly. No Epistle in the New Testament has been so hackneyed by commentators as *1 Corinthians*; so that to write a fresh and delightful exposition of it is nothing short of a feat. This feat Professor Evans has achieved, apparently with the utmost ease. His fine scholarship enables him to suggest many new renderings, of which, if a few are questionable (*e.g.* that of the final clause of *1 Cor.* viii. 3), the more part are very helpful and suggestive, and commend themselves the more the more they are considered; as, for example, his rendering and explanation of Chapter xv. Verse 29, where his brief dissertation on the force of *ὑπὲρ* gives the *coup de grace* to the legendary view of the "baptism *for* the dead," although that view is generally accepted by modern critics. The learned professor is at least as great a master of English as of Greek, and uses it with a force and delicate precision which compels it to express the finest distinctions of thought; and though at times there is a certain quaintness or even eccentricity in his style, he abounds in happy idioms which linger on the ear, and rises, when his subject prompts him, into a strain of unforced and picturesque eloquence. In reading him one is again and again reminded of the skilful workman who plays with his tools even while he works with them. It is plain, too, that he has studied the "emphatic terseness" which he, very justly, ascribes to St. Paul; for his commentary is one of the briefest, as well as quite the best, yet published on this Scripture. And indeed it is so good that, having once taken it up, I was unable to lay it down again till I had fairly gone through it. It is much to be hoped that we may get many more expositions from the same original and accomplished pen.

Of the other commentaries contained in this Volume, which covers the whole series of St. Paul's Epistles, that on *Philemon*, by the *Bishop of Derry*, is very charming and full, and on the whole

is perhaps the best exposition of that Apostolic "note"—note rather than letter—we have; while that on *2 Corinthians* by *Rev. Joseph Waite* is sensible and scholarly; as indeed are many other of the commentaries associated with these. But of the rest I must be content to say that as many of them as treat of Scriptures on which Bishop Lightfoot has written suffer by contrast with his far abler and better work; and that those who possess Dr. Reynolds' exposition of the Pastoral Epistles need not trouble themselves to consult the "critical notes" of the Bishop of London, though they cannot fail to be interested in Mr. Wace's brief introduction to them.

It is rather late in the day to bring out a translation of EWALD'S COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS (London: Williams and Norgate); for what is best in that work has long since been appropriated by those who have followed him. Still, despite his pragmatic and self-confident temper, Ewald must always take his place in the front rank of Biblical expositors, if only in virtue of his learning, erudition, and fine historical insight. And to those who are unable to consult him in his native German *Mr. Johnson's* translation may be recommended with confidence.

Both the recent additions to THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS—*Jeremiah and Lamentations*, by *Rev. A. W. Streane, M.A.*, and *St. John's Gospel*, by *Rev. A. Plummer, M.A.*,—are well up to the mark of excellence which has been so fairly maintained throughout this Series, and are admirably adapted to their special purpose. That of Mr. Plummer indeed is one of the very best yet issued, and may be profitably consulted by more advanced students than those of our public schools and colleges.

Under the care of the same general editor, the Dean of Peterborough, as the Cambridge Bible, a new enterprise has been taken in hand; that namely of furnishing a GREEK NEW TESTAMENT FOR SCHOOLS. The first volume has just been published. It contains the text of *St. Matthew's Gospel*, with annotations by *Rev. A. Carr, M.A.* Mr. Carr, it will be remembered, wrote the notes to this Gospel in the former work. Of these notes he now makes use, expanding them however wherever expansion seemed desirable, and adding, of course, critical and grammatical notes on the Greek.

His work seems well and carefully done, and makes an auspicious commencement of the new series. On one point, however, it lies open to question. I am disposed to think that he would have done better to accept either the Greek text followed by the Revisers, or, if the choice were open to him, that finally adopted by Messrs. Westcott and Hort, than to frame a new text of his own, although the principles on which his text has been selected ensure that it should be a fairly good one. The unnecessary multiplication of texts is surely a thing to be avoided; and I can hardly admit that this new text was necessary.

It is but rarely that one meets with a volume of sermons of equal calibre with that which contains *NON-MIRACULOUS CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER SERMONS* by *Rev. George Salmon*, D.D., the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin (London: Macmillan and Co.). These discourses are marked alike by vigour of thought and beauty of form. Addressed to a select and cultivated audience, they deal with the difficulties of Christian thought and belief, or with the plain duties of the Christian life as they are likely to present themselves to cultivated and easily conditioned men. It must have been a pleasure of no ordinary kind to listen to them; it is most refreshing and instructive to read them. They are quick with thought and emotion to their very extremities,—as sermons should be, but rarely are. They bring us into contact with a strikingly original, cultured, and liberal mind, a mind which moves and utters itself with ease under the burden of reflection and experience. Mainly apologetic in their tone, they minister a potent medicine to immature minds infected with the modern materialistic scepticism; as, for example, in the following effective passage (for the italics of which, however, Dr. Salmon is not responsible):

“The investigations of recent years have so forced us to take notice of the physical antecedents of thought, that there has resulted a tendency to look upon thought as a kind of material product. The brain secretes thought, some of the coarser materialists have said, as the liver secretes bile. But if we wish to see how completely *sui generis* thought is, we have only to take notice of the process by which thought is generated and sustained. No secreting organ in our system *creates* that which it secretes. Every particle of bile given out by the liver must have been contained in that which entered into the liver. The organ has done nothing but

separate and form into new combinations the substance on which it acts. The chemist can find in the food the constituents of all the products of the animal frame. Is it so with our thoughts? Can we find *them* in the blood which courses along our veins and arteries, and which, entering into the blood-vessels of the brain, sustains the activity of that organ? Will a delicate analysis ever detect them in the food whence that blood was derived, and thus shew that the brain does nothing but disentangle these thoughts from the envelope which had concealed them? Chemistry has taught how to vary the manure of a plant or the food of an animal according to the kind of product which he who rears them desires to obtain. Can we imagine that, in the progress of science, it will be discovered how the diet is to be varied according as the product we desire to obtain is the poet's fine imagination or the philosopher's deep speculation, or the mother's fond affection, or the martyr's stern resolve? *If thought were matter, matter would supply it.* But thought can only be fed by thoughts."

But with this fine apologetic strain there are blended many touches of genuine expository power; as, for instance, in the sudden and unexpected turn given to a point in the Parable of the Sower.

"A few words may be said as to the lesson of encouragement to those who, while desirous to work for God, are conscious of feeble powers, and despondent because such work as they have done shews little signs of success. With respect to feebleness of powers, it is sufficient to say that *it does not require great power to cast a seed.* In other words, the reflection how very small a part of the work is really ours is one that not only suggests humility to the successful, but encouragement to the despondent: for if they honestly fulfil, to the best of their ability, the task committed to them, they call into action forces far more powerful than they. The good seed which they sow has a Divine power of its own, and when it falls into an honest and good heart, and is watered with blessing from above, its growth is not affected by any weakness in the first planter."

These sermons abound, moreover, in wise, rememberable, and quotable sentences, bred of keen observation and wide experience of men, and these sentences are often lit up with flashes of humour which make them singularly effective. I quote two or three of them, all out of one sermon, and might quote two or three score. "It is notorious that perfect content with one's attainments can only be had on the terms of knowing very little." "If you want

to find a man completely contented with his knowledge, you must look for one who has spent no trouble in the search for it. Strange, indeed, it is that we value our opinions by a different rate from that by which we value everything else. Other things we value in proportion to the trouble it has cost us to obtain them; but our opinions are the more dear to us the less pains we have taken to come by them!" "The humility of moderating our claims lest they should come into collision with those of God, is like the humility of bowing our head lest we should strike it against the sky," a sentence worthy of George Eliot.

It is with sincere and grave satisfaction that I close this brief notice by informing our readers that Dr. Salmon has promised to send an occasional contribution to the pages of this Magazine.

The lecturing season set in in Scotland last winter with its usual, if not with more than its usual, severity. It is well for us that it did. For, among other happy results of this lecturing industry, it has produced three volumes which cannot fail to win a cordial welcome from students and lovers of the Word. In *THE CHIEF END OF REVELATION*, Dr. A. B. Bruce (London: Hodder and Stoughton) defines Revelation as *God manifesting Himself in the history of the world in a supernatural manner and for a special purpose*; this purpose being the redemption of mankind from the curse and bondage of sin into the obedience of faith and love. With this for his main theme, he proceeds to discuss, in his somewhat blunt but forcible style, the method of Revelation, the functions of Miracle and Prophecy, and the doctrinal significance of the Divine self-manifestation recorded in Holy Scripture. All these points are treated with marked ability, and with a special view to the current forms of agnosticism and materialism, Mr. Matthew Arnold's superficial and supercilious utterances coming in for even a larger share of attention than, in their present discredited and bedraggled condition, they altogether deserve.

Dr. George Matheson, in *NATURAL ELEMENTS OF REVEALED THEOLOGY* (London: Nisbet and Co.), gives us work still more valuable. He sets himself to ascertain what were the solutions of the great problems of religious thought arrived at by the best minds prior to the advent of Christ; and to shew how in the Christian revelation these solutions are taken up, corrected, harmonized, and carried to

a height and completeness it had not entered into the heart of man to conceive. The problems he discusses are *God, Providence, Sin, Human Immortality*; and in discussing them, while he points to whatever rays of light, whether in the East or in the West, penetrated the pre-Christian darkness, he shews how even these broken and scattered rays came from the Sun which brought to later ages the clear Christian day. It would be hard to find any small volume in which the immense need for the Christian revelation, and the Divine all-satisfying character of that revelation, are more lucidly and attractively set forth.

In putting *THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE JEWISH CHURCH* by *W. Robertson Smith, M.A.* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black) last on this list of Lectures, I lay myself open to the reproach of the Sympsiarch; for I have kept the best wine until now. I know of no other book from which so much new and valuable information may be gained on the structure and history of the Old Testament Scriptures and their translation into Greek, or on the formation and history of the Canon. These, indeed, are not the points in his work which have caught and engrossed the public attention, although they constitute both the greater and the better part of it. That which has most, and most unfavourably, impressed the public mind, especially in Scotland, is his contention that the Levitical law laid down in the Pentateuch, was, for the most part, unknown to Israel until the time of Josiah, or even that of the Exile; and that the authorship of at least those parts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy in which it is found is not to be ascribed to Moses, but to the prophets and scribes who planned and led the Return. Personally, I dissent from the conclusions he has reached, and think he does not make anything like sufficient allowance for the enormous difficulty which would have attended any attempt to palm off on the Jews of the Restoration writings of their own age as ancient and venerable Scriptures, or the work of their own scribes as the work of Moses the man of God. On the whole I find it easier to believe that a people should have a law and neglect it for a thousand years, especially if reading and writing were but rare accomplishments through all those years, than to believe that a thousand years after date, and at a period remarkable alike for its literary activity and its religious devotion, they were both persuaded that such a law had always existed, although such a persuasion ran right in the

teeth of their most sacred records and was contradicted by the leading events of their history, and induced to accept as time-worn and time-honoured Scriptures the immediate productions of their own age. All the same, however, I do not see how any candid man who has really read Professor Smith's most instructive and delightful Lectures can deny that he arrays an immense weight of evidence in favour of his hypothesis, evidence so cogent and advancing along so many different lines as to render it a probable hypothesis, and therefore an hypothesis which may be fairly held. Nor do I see how any such reader can fail to perceive that, despite his probable but questionable hypothesis, he both holds the Bible in undiminished reverence as the Word of God, and holds fast to the doctrinal truths which are most surely believed among us; or that he so handles his hypothesis as to convince those who have accepted the most advanced views of the higher criticism that, even on their own shewing, they are bound to find in the Bible an authentic revelation of the saving will of God. Differ from him as we may, therefore, I hold that we are bound to regard him as a servant and champion of faith, not as a disseminator of doubt, and to thankfully accept the immense contribution to the popular knowledge of Holy Scripture which he has made.

EDITOR.

THE VISION OF ISAIAH.

ISAIAH vi. 1-8.

II. THE VISION.

WE often speak of that "bourne from which no traveller returns," and lament that no one of those who have crossed the stream of death has ever come back to tell us what would have "added praise to praise," by bringing us a report of the land that lies beyond. Ungrateful or thoughtless that we are, when not only has He who could not be holden of death returned to assure us that it is a wealthy land and a good, but a whole order of men have risen into the spiritual and eternal world, the world which lies beyond death and above life, and have come down from it to tell us what they had seen !

Isaiah was one of this rare and elect order of men. As he stood in the temple of Jerusalem, perplexed by fear of change, in the year that King Uzziah died, his spirit was caught up into Paradise, where, if he saw much he could not describe, and heard many words not to be translated into human speech, he also saw much which he has described, and heard many words which it was lawful and possible for him to repeat. Like most of the prophets, he had a vision of the invisible, saw the real through the phenomenal, the ideal through the actual, the eternal through the temporal ; and he has reported, for our instruction, what it was that he saw behind the veil.

What, then, did he see ? He saw a world like that with which he was familiar, and yet unlike it, because unspeak-

ably larger, purer, happier, more splendid and sublime. He still stood within the walls of Jerusalem, but it was the Jerusalem which is above, whose Builder and Ruler is God; he still worshipped in a temple, but it was the house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens; he still looked out on a wide fair earth, but it was an earth filled with the glory of a Divine holiness.

What did he see in that new world? He saw an ideal *Person* as well as an ideal law and worship; he saw a holy and governing Will seated on the throne of the universe; he learned that the true King of men is He who sits high above all change, and not the princes of this world who come and go, who live and die, who change and pass. In the world behind and above this world, the world that *is* and *is to be*, he saw no blind Force merely, no self-passed and self-executing Law, no irresistible but unintelligent Fate, no diffused impersonal Power making for righteousness; but a holy and gracious Lord whose will is one day to be done on earth even as it is already done in heaven.

What else did he see? or, rather, what was the first and deepest impression made on his mind by this vision of a Divine Ruler seated on a throne lifted high above all earthly thrones? The first effect of this vision of Him who is invisible was, he tells us, an overwhelming sense of sin: "Woe is me! I am undone; for I, a man of unclean lips, have seen the King, the Lord of hosts." And yet, even before his call, Isaiah was not a sinner above his fellows. On the contrary, he was one of the best and noblest of his race; a man much given to meditation on the highest themes; a man with a pure lofty ideal before him, which he eagerly pursued; a man who had devoted himself to the study of the ways of God with men and to the obedience of the Divine will. There is other evidence to be had, but we need no other evidence than that of this Vision itself, to prove that he was a just man, walking in the ordinances

and commandments of God with blameless feet. For only the pure in heart can see God. But he who is sufficiently pure in heart to see God is, by that very vision, convicted of an unspeakable impurity. Isaiah was not a bad man, but a good, one of the excellent of the earth in whom God took delight. But no sooner does he lift his eyes to the throne, and to Him that sitteth thereon, than he sees a goodness so much more perfect than his own, a holiness so intense and radiant, a purity so luminous and dazzling, that he becomes aware, not so much of many sins of conduct which unfit him for the Divine presence and inspection, as of a sinful nature, a nature faulty, imperfect, depraved, a nature which needs to be redeemed, renewed, transformed, before it can meet the pure eyes and awful witness of the Divine Judge. The very light that is in him turns to darkness in a glory so ineffable; and he finds a sentence of death in the very life which alone can quicken and renew him.

And it is by this vision of the Divine Holiness that men are commonly convinced of their own unholiness and impurity. So long as we try ourselves by merely human standards, or "measure ourselves by ourselves," we may find little to blame; but no sooner do we gaze stedfastly on the God who reveals Himself within us, or the God who once manifested Himself in the flesh, than we see a goodness so pure, so large, so resplendent, that even what is best in us seems bad, and we feel that we must die to *self* if we are to die to sin, and that we *must* die to sin if we are to see God and live.

But the vision of the Divine Holiness produced one effect on Isaiah which it does not always produce on us, though it always should produce it. While it deepened his consciousness of sin, it also deepened his consciousness of oneness with his fellows. He feels that he must die, not simply because he himself is a man of unclean lips, *i.e.*

of an impure nature; but also because he "dwells in the midst of a people of unclean lips," *i.e.* because he is of a race whose nature is as impure as his own. He does not assume that he was better than they, though he was better; but he does assume that even if he were better, even if he himself were pure in the eyes of God, he must die because they were impure; he must bear the sins of his race and be condemned for them. Even in this surprising but most Christian sense, nothing human is alien to him. In the blaze of the Divine Holiness all sense of difference between himself and others, all human degrees of virtue and piety, are utterly lost. He neither can dissociate himself, nor does he wish to dissociate himself, from his fellows. He is ready to, he feels that he must, sink or swim with them. It is no individual safety, or salvation, that he is thinking of; no such salvation would content him, if "the rest," his brethren according to the flesh are to be left unclean, and therefore unsaved. Nay, for the moment, no thought of salvation, whether for himself or for others, is in his mind. In the light which falls upon the world from the throne of the Perfect Holiness the whole race of man, despite its preachers of righteousness and shining examples of virtue, lies in darkness, just as the whole world, when seen against the sun, despite its household lamps and illuminated streets, must be a mere spot of blackness; and in its darkness he reads its doom. All must die, because that all have sinned and have come short of the glory of God.

And if we believe in God, and also believe that man was made in the image of God, how can we any one of us review the human story and not feel how far humanity as a whole has fallen short of its ideal life and chief end? Who can contemplate himself, or the world at large, in the light of the Divine Holiness, and not admit that he is impure, that all are impure; and that before we can stand in the

Divine Presence, before we can see God and live, we must see God and die, must pass through a change as keen and radical as that of death itself?

Thus far, then, Isaiah has gained, and we have gained from him or with him, a vision of human sinfulness through the Divine Holiness. And did the vision end here, it might well breed conclusions of despair in us, as it did in him. But, happily, it does not end here. As Isaiah stedfastly gazed into the ideal and eternal world, in which the purposes of God find their perfect expression—the very purposes which in due time are to be wrought out in this present actual world—he learned that even the sin of man has been foreseen and provided for. There is an altar of sacrifice in the heavenly temple; there are ministering spirits; there is a cleansing and redeeming pain. As he stood, a man of like passions with ourselves, gazing on the holiness which is the glory of God, and finding an omen of doom in that great sign of hope—for if God were unholy, what hope of cleansing could there be for us?—one of the heavenly ministrants flew toward him, bearing a kindled ember (a hot stone) from the altar, laid it on his mouth, and said, “Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away, thy sin purged.” The young Prophet is saved so as by fire, painfully purged from iniquity by the virtue of a Sacrifice which itself was not made without pain. For this altar in heaven is the altar on which the Lamb of God was slain “before the foundation of the world.” That is to say, it is the heavenly symbol of that eternal sacrifice of the Divine Love of which the Cross of Christ was the expression on earth, in time. It speaks to us of the pain which our sins have caused to the great Maker and Father of us all; but it also speaks to us of “the Love which is more than all our sins,” and which is content to suffer for and by our sins that it may take them away, that it may purge us from our iniquity, redeem us to the

love and service of righteousness, and recreate us in the image of the Divine Holiness.

Now that Isaiah's vision of an altar in the heavenly temple does mean and imply all this, we who accept the New Testament as the Word of God can have no doubt; for it was after quoting from this very vision that St. John wrote: "These things spake Isaiah when he saw his glory (the glory of the Christ), and spake of *Him*." But if we accept this inspired interpretation of Isaiah's vision, think how much it implies,—a truth how far-reaching, a hope how large and sublime. It assures us that the sin of man was no unforeseen accident which the eternal purposes of God did not include, but was part of that Divine education and discipline by which God is training his many sons for honour, glory, and immortality. It assures us that, though our Father in heaven cannot but be pained to the very heart by our sins, yet his love is not alienated from us by them, but has been working from all eternity for our redemption and renewal. It assures us that though, because of our iniquity, we cannot be redeemed without pain, though we must die to live, God will spare us no pain by which we may be purged from our iniquity and formed anew, fitted for his service and made meet to partake his glory.

Nor, much as all this is, is even this all that the vision of Isaiah has to teach us. For if we ask, What is to be the end of this long weary conflict between the mutinous will of man and the steadfast and holy will of God? if we ask,—as how can we help asking,—Is evil to win the day or good, and how far is the conquest to extend? even this question is answered for us as we listen to the song of the Seraphim who stood above the throne. For whatever these heavenly ministers may be or represent, we cannot doubt that they, standing ever in the Divine Presence, know the secret which is hidden from us. And they

disclose this secret in their song. Even as they look down on a world so corrupt, so careless and unconcerned in its sins, that Isaiah himself had well nigh lost hope of it, they sing: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; *the whole earth is full of his glory.*" That is what *they* see. Where the Prophet can only see an unclean world, a world wholly given up to wickedness, they behold a world purged and redeemed, filled from end to end with the glory of God.

And if we ask, What is that glory of God which is to fill the whole earth? Still we get an answer from their *ter sanctus*, from the song which comes rushing down through the open doors of the eternal temple with a power that causes the posts of the doors to tremble: "*Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts.*" God's holiness is his glory. It is his holiness, therefore, with which this unclean world is to be filled, into which it is to be redeemed. For what they see is, of course, the ideal world, the world as it shapes itself in the mind of God, in the everlasting purposes of his love; the world as it is to be when his purpose is accomplished and his saving will has taken effect. So that the end of the long strife between man's evil will and the good will of God is that the whole world, the whole race, is to be penetrated and suffused with a Divine holiness, with a purity as bright, as radiant, as resplendent as his own. Isaiah himself had found that Holiness to be not only a light which revealed his iniquity, but also a fire that burned it out. And we, and all men, are destined in the purpose of God at once to be convicted by it and cleansed. A day is coming in which the ideal will become the actual world; and in that day *we* shall take up the song of the Seraphim, and chant one to another: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty; the whole earth is full of his glory."

This, then, is what I take Isaiah to have seen in the ideal and eternal world, the world which lies beyond the reach of sense but opens to the touch of faith, the world

which as yet and for the more part lies outside the bounds and coasts of time, but is one day to be drawn within its bounds. And his vision of the invisible corresponds, at least in its main outlines and at all the points on which I have touched, with that of all the prophets whether of the Old Testament or of the New. They too saw God, and in God the true King and Governor of men. They too recognized human sinfulness, an iniquity so universal, ingrained, and deep as to prove that man had fallen from the glory for which he was made, and had rendered himself unable to endure the immediate presence of his Maker. But they also saw a Divine Love ever at work to redeem men from their sins, to purge them from their iniquity, to recreate them in the image they had marred, and to reinstate them in the glory from which they had fallen. And they foresaw that the patient self-sacrificing love of God must reach its end at last; that it must save men, even if as by pangs of death, unto life everlasting; and that the whole earth must be filled with the glory of his holiness.

It only remains for us to decide whether we will trust the good report of the world invisible brought to us by these seers of a bygone age, or whether we will listen, rather, to the speculations current in our own time. For we, too, have our seers—of whom I would be understood to speak with profound respect so long as they speak of that which they do know—though it must be confessed that many of them profess to see very little when they raise their eyes to the region of the ideal and the eternal, and that some of them step beyond their proper sphere the very moment they advance beyond the things that are seen and temporal. Still they speak with a certain authority; their speculations have a profound interest for many who care but little for their discoveries; and, as we can see for ourselves, the very Church listens to them with a certain apprehension and dismay.

Standing on the utmost verge of what they know, these modern seers project themselves into the vast unknown, and prophesy to us of the things which *are* and which are to be. And, at the very outset, it must be admitted, I think, that their reports of what they have seen when the prophetic soul has been stirred within them are neither so intelligible and harmonious as those of the ancient prophets, nor so bright with hope. For some of them report that, long and stedfastly as they have gazed, they have discovered nothing but an impenetrable darkness, an unbroken silence, an unfathomable abyss in which all thought is drowned, and know nothing save that nothing is to be known. Others find in matter the promise and potency of all that exists and is to exist, and infer that, as there is no "spirit" in man, there can be none above him. Others have discovered nothing beyond an impersonal Power "not ourselves," and to which no self of any kind is to be attributed, which in some blind unaccountable way works for righteousness, that most personal of all qualities. As they look around, above, and before them, many of our most accomplished thinkers find no God in heaven or on earth; while in man they recognize no fall from his original glory, and no promise of a life beyond the grave, but simply an evolution from lower forms of life which must terminate at death. In the teeth of all reason, as it seems to me, and with the very language they use betraying them at every step, they forbid us to believe in any creative Mind, any organizing Intelligence, any ruling Will, in and behind the universe, or any end of grace to which it is pressing on; while, in the very teeth of conscience, with its irrepressible monitions and forebodings, they forbid us to believe in the depravity of man, or in a future life in which his deeds are to be judged and recompensed.

Well, we must choose, each for himself, between these modern seers, who know so much of the visible world but

so little of the world invisible, and the ancient prophets who professed to bring a message from Heaven; and who saw, or thought they saw, when the invisible world was unveiled to them, a God reigning within us as well as over the starry realms of space; who recognized the depravity, the sinfulness, of men, but held that there was a Love at work upon them which was bent on saving them from their sins at the cost of any sacrifice to itself and of any pain to them; and who foresaw and foretold that, in the end, the love of God *must* conquer the enmity of man, the holiness of God triumph over the sinfulness of man, and so utterly and nobly triumph that the whole earth should be filled with his glory.

And in making our choice between ancient prophets and modern sages we shall do well to ask ourselves which of the two seem to be of the more spiritual type of humanity; which of them have done most to cultivate a religious insight and spirit; which of them, therefore, is the more likely to be conversant with the secrets of the spiritual world? We shall have to determine whether, when it is a question of visions and revelations from the Lord, the Hebrew prophet is the more likely to guide us aright or the English man of science or man of literature,—Isaiah, for example, or Professor Tyndall, St. Paul or Herbert Spencer, St. John or Matthew Arnold. If we but use our common sense on such a question as that, there cannot, I think, be much doubt as to the result. When these eminent contemporaries of ours speak of that which they know, we shall listen to them with respect and gratitude; but when they invade provinces not their own, when they begin to guess, and to guess on points which lie outside their proper studies, when they bring minds of an unprophetic type to prophetic themes, we shall surely do well to distrust them, and to turn to more qualified and accomplished guides.

Having determined that question, it will be well to ask another: viz., Do the speculations of modern times or the visions of the ancient prophets present us with the more reasonable and adequate theory of things unseen and eternal? In denying a creative and organizing Mind, a ruling Will, a righteous and loving Heart,—in denying a God, in short, the modern school seems, to me at least, to run counter to the clear dictates of reason, just as in denying the sinfulness of man and his immortality it runs counter to the rebukes and forebodings of conscience. While, on the other hand, the prophets, in affirming God, in recognizing the depravity of man and his immortality, in admitting the struggle between evil and good which we feel within us and see going on around us, and in predicting the final and complete victory of good over evil, seem to furnish us with an adequate and most reasonable account of all the facts with which reason and conscience supply us, and to kindle a hope which may well animate and sustain us in the choice and pursuit of that which is good. No nobler, brighter, and grander vision than that of Isaiah ever broke upon the human mind. If we have once seen it for ourselves, we cannot doubt its truth: it becomes for ever impossible to us to stoop to the speculations which, dethroning God, render it doubtful whether life is worth living and the grave be not our goal. If we have not seen it for ourselves, even then, I think, we ought to hope that it may be true, and that we shall one day see and rejoice in its truth. If the moral worth and tendency of a system of thought be any proof of its origin, we cannot fail to recognize on the vision of Isaiah the very stamp and signature of God.

S. Cox.

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

II. THE TRANSLATION.

(1) THE RENDERING OF GREEK WORDS.

THE heading of this paper sufficiently indicates its scope ; except that I shall not now discuss the rendering of Greek particles, which, together with the rendering of Greek inflexions and syntax, I reserve for another paper.

The task thus undertaken is one from which the boldest writer may well recoil. We have been told by the very learned chairman of the New Testament Company of Revisers, that their work has been gone over seven times. And we all know that in the Company are some of the ablest living New Testament scholars. Surely such care and such scholarship ought to disarm all criticism. But in spite of it the New Version is attacked all round. I am sure that Dr. Ellicott will not deny me the right and the pleasure of saying a few words in its defence. And while doing so I cannot forbear to point out, with the respect due to its authors, what seem to me to be defects in a work which as a whole I heartily commend.

In estimating the great work now before us we must ever bear in mind that an English Version is needed chiefly by those not familiar with the original language of the New Testament, that is to say, by the mass of the nation, to whom the version they use is practically the voice of Evangelists and Apostles. Consequently, to reproduce as correctly and clearly and fully as possible the sense which these men of days gone by designed their words to convey, must be the first aim of all translators and revisers. Keeping this ever in view as of chief importance, their second aim must be to make their rendering as beautiful and appropriate as they can.

In this paper I shall mention first several new renderings which are an indisputable gain. I shall then consider some Greek words which present to the translator special difficulty, and the way in which the Revisers have endeavoured to surmount the difficulty. Lastly, I shall discuss a few renderings which I cannot approve.

A conspicuous improvement in the New Version is that, to a much larger extent than before, one Greek word is represented by one English equivalent. This is much more than a matter of mere literary propriety. Very often in the Authorised Version an historical coincidence or a train of argument is obscured by a needless change in rendering some important word.

As an instance of gain in this matter I may mention the word *robber*, which in the New Version is the constant equivalent of *ληστής*. Whatever the words meant in an earlier day, with us a *robber* is one who plunders with open violence, while the *thief* steals with secret guile. And this is the exact distinction of the Greek words so rendered. The change gives vividness to every passage in which it is made. How greatly it increases the force of the Saviour's words in St. Matthew xxi. 13, *Ye make it a den of robbers*; and in Chapter xxvi. 55, *Are ye come out as against a robber with swords and staves to seize me?* The new rendering of St. Matthew xxvii. 38 recalls at once the famous¹ *robber* Barabbas,² who with his companions in violence and murder³ lay that morning in prison. Of this robber band, *one* man, Barabbas, doubtless the chief, was set free. And, that on the same day two robbers were crucified, suggests at once that these were his companions in violence and bloodshed.

The new rendering *creation* in Romans viii. 20, 21, replacing the unintelligible word *creature*, not only gives a clear, and I believe correct, sense, but reveals the con-

¹ Verse 16.

² St. John xviii. 40.

³ St. Mark xv. 7.

nexion of these Verses with Verse 22, thus elucidating the Apostle's argument. The meaning of the word will be still more clear if, as I doubt not, in the Revised Apocrypha the same rendering of the same word is adopted in Wisdom v. 17; xvi. 24; xix. 6.

In Romans vii. 7, 8, the rendering *covet* three times, instead of *lust*, *covet*, and *concupiscence*, both restores a line of argument completely broken in the Old Version and makes the Apostle's reference to the Tenth Commandment more conspicuous.

In rendering this last word, uniformity might have been carried much further and with great gain, by using the word *desire* for ἐπιθυμία always; as frequently the Revisers have been compelled to do. Neither the Greek word nor its Hebrew¹ equivalent implies in itself bad desire; much less sensual desire, the modern meaning of the English word *lust* when not otherwise defined. That the Greek word is morally neutral, we learn at once from St. Matthew xiii. 17; St. Luke xvii. 22; xxii. 15; Acts xx. 33; 1 Timothy iii. 1; Hebrews vi. 11; 1 Peter i. 12; Philippians i. 23; Colossians iii. 5; 1 Thessalonians ii. 17. Even in the Tenth Commandment not all *desire* is forbidden, but to desire our neighbour's wife and goods. The impropriety of the rendering *lust*, which is everywhere retained by the Revisers, is very conspicuous in Galatians v. 17; where, if their words give any meaning, they attribute *lust* to the Holy Spirit. If long established usage had deterred the Committee from using the word *desire* in the Tenth Commandment, they might have used it everywhere else; and here have given the true meaning in the margin.

In not a few cases, reasons still more important than those illustrated by the foregoing examples, demand imperatively uniformity of rendering. Into many Greek words the Gospel breathed a new and higher life and a deeper signifi-

¹ Compare Psalm lxviii. 16.

cance, thus making them embodiments of the new thoughts given to humanity by the creative Spirit of Christ. And, that this new significance may be felt, it is of infinite importance that, so far as possible, each consecrated Greek word should have a constant English equivalent. For each passage in which the word occurs contributes to reveal the breadth and depth of its new meaning.

Uniformity of rendering is a gain even to those who do not consciously take any interest in the meaning of words. For, by the innate constitution of the human mind, and from childhood, we are all philologists. Without knowing it, we gather the meaning of words instinctively from the various objects to which each word is applied. And these meanings are an important element in the development of our thought. Similarly, from the use of words in the Bible the careful reader gathers their significance, and thus imbibes the truths embodied in them. Hence a correct and full reproduction, by means of uniform English equivalents, of the Greek words of the New Testament is a gain to all who read an English version.

Of all the conceptions conveyed by the Gospel, or known to men, the noblest is that embodied in the Greek word *ἀγάπη*; a word unknown, as its significance was unknown, in classic literature. In a few places, oftener of things than men, its cognate verb is found. In the Septuagint the verb is frequent, the substantive very rare. The word *ἀγάπη* has the unique honour of being the only substantive noting a moral attribute which is predicated, simply and without explanation or limitation, of God Himself: for *God is Love*. Now in his beautiful Psalm of Love¹ St. Paul teaches that this unique attribute of God, noted by this one word which is itself a sufficient description of the moral nature of God, is also the one moral quality which is itself all we need to be. In other words, human excellence is

¹ 1 Corinthians xiii.

not, as many think it is, composite ; but, like all great principles, absolutely simple. All this the Apostle makes us feel by pourtraying a man in whom are accumulated all sorts of supposed excellences and merits, but who is destitute of this one quality which is the moral essence of God ; and by pourtraying side by side of him a man whose whole being is an impersonation of love. The one portrait we recognise at once, without asking a question about ability or achievements, as the most perfect model of human excellence we have seen. From the other we turn with disgust as utterly worthless.

All this is obscured, and from very many readers utterly hidden, by the unfortunate rendering in the Authorised Version. It is vain to say that every one knows that *charity* means *love*. This is not true. Again and again I have heard this Chapter quoted as though the word *charity* was there used in one or other of its various modern senses. Moreover, we need to be ever reminded of that which we know. And nothing brings a conception home to us with ever increasing force more than its embodiment in a familiar word. For even the words we use are constantly moulding our thoughts. It is hardly too much to say that the Authorised rendering has ruined the significance of this beautiful Chapter.

Even more wretched is the old rendering of Romans xiv. 15, where St. Paul takes up his important teaching in Chapter xiii. 8-10, viz., that *Love is a fulfilment of Law*, and brings it to bear on the matter of the weak brethren.

Yet some have complained because the Revisers have restored the harmony of New Testament teaching, by using a uniform rendering for this all-important Greek word. The only reason I can hear is that *charity* has three syllables, and thus produces a more pleasant rhythm. Rather let all rhythm, or even all literary beauty, perish

than ever so little obscure the moral beauty and the divine origin of this noblest grace of the Christian life.

The reasons which demand that a Greek word have if practicable the same English reading everywhere make it desirable that cognates also preserve the family likeness. In this respect the New Version is much better than the Old. And this is the reason of not a few of the apparently small and needless changes of which some critics complain so much. A good example is the alteration in 2 Corinthians iii. 18 of *changed* into *transformed*, which recalls not only the same word and same tense in Romans xii. 2, but places these passages in connexion with Romans viii. 29 and Philippians iii. 10, 21, thus revealing a brilliant galaxy of New Testament gems.

I cannot easily forgive the Revisers for leaving outside the field of their telescope the one remaining star of the galaxy, by using another rendering in St. Matthew xvii. 2 and St. Mark ix. 2. If they were afraid to disturb the familiar associations of the Transfiguration, they might at least have put the right word in the margin.

Uniformity of spelling proper names in the Old and New Testaments is a most excellent feature of the New Version. To thousands of readers the Old Version of Acts vii. 45 and Hebrews iv. 8 is altogether meaningless, whereas now not only is the meaning quite clear but the margin tells us that the name of the Divine Deliverer was borne centuries before his birth by the victorious leader of Israel. I am quite sure that multitudes do not know, especially in passages such as St. Matthew xi. 14; xvi. 14, that *Elias* and *Elijah* are the same name. *Eliseus*, in St. Luke iv. 27, is equally perplexing. It will be said that these people are very ignorant. But many of them love the Bible. And it is for such as these that translations of it are made.

In St. Matthew i. 5, the change from *Rachab* to *Rahab* sheds beautiful light upon the later history of the harlot

of Jericho, and presents an interesting coincidence with Joshua vi. 25. By spelling the name exactly as in Hebrews xi. 31, James ii. 25, the New Version goes a little beyond the Greek text. But this only proves that the translator is sometimes compelled to decide matters which seem to lie outside his own province. In this case I doubt not that the decision is correct.

The mutual relations of the teaching of the Old and New Testaments, one of the most important elements of theology, is frequently made clear in the New Version by the use of one English equivalent for a Hebrew word and its Greek equivalent. This extension of uniformity of rendering is required by all the reasons for uniformity given above. To estimate its full effect we must wait till we have the Revised Old Testament. But the great gain of it is already apparent.

As an example of this gain I may mention the new rendering of the great word *διαθήκη*. There was here much need for amendment. For, in many important passages, such as 1 Corinthians xi. 25, the old rendering gives no meaning whatever, and hides altogether the interesting coincidence of Exodus xxiv. 8. But a correct rendering of this word is by no means easy. For we have no one English equivalent which covers, even approximately, the ground occupied by the Greek word. Moreover, the use of it by the Seventy as their constant Greek equivalent of *ברית* differs from its ordinary classic use. A good classic example, however, of the Septuagint use is found in line 440 of the *Birds* of Aristophanes: *ἤν μὴ διάθωνται γ' οἷδε διαθήκην ἐμοὶ ἦν περ ὁ πίθηκος τῇ γυναικὶ διέθετο*. The difficulty of the translators is increased by the occurrence of the word in Hebrews ix. 16, 17, in its usual classic meaning of *testamentary deed*, in close connection with the Old Testament associations of the word. The difficulties thus presented, the Revisers have surmounted as well as our own

language permits, by using the rendering *covenant* everywhere else, and by putting it in the margin in Hebrews ix. 16, 17 and the word *testament* in the text. The gain of this alteration, as elucidating the dealings of God with man during the long ages covered by the Sacred Writings, cannot be over-estimated.

Even the rendering *Holy of Holies*, in Hebrews ix. 3, is not without value to many readers.

Probably no word in the Old Version is more staggering to the ordinary reader than the ugly rendering *beast* in Revelation iv. and v. And it is much worse than ugly and inappropriate. For it obscures the plain reference to Ezekiel i. 5ff., which reveals at once at the opening of the visions of the Book of Revelation their close connexion with the visions of Ezekiel. This connexion is maintained throughout both books, as may be seen by comparing the descriptions of the fall of Tyre in Ezekiel xxvi.-xxviii., of Gog and Magog in Chapters xxxviii., xxxix., and of the New Jerusalem in the concluding Chapters, with familiar passages in the Book of Revelation. This relationship of these Old and New Testament Apocalypses is, I believe, the best key to unlock the hidden meaning of both. And it is suggested at once by the revised rendering *Living Creatures*.

Moreover, Ezekiel tells us in Chapter x. 15, 20 that the *Living Creatures* he saw are the Cherubim. He thus connects the visions of himself and of John with all the Old Testament teaching about the Cherubim, and so sheds light upon one of the most mysterious subjects in the Bible.

On the other hand, the old rendering, *beast*, suggests a false connexion with Revelation xiii., where a totally different word is used, recalling Daniel vii. 3ff. and an altogether different cycle of Apocalyptic visions.

The reader will judge how great is the gain of the revised rendering of this one Greek word.

Many references in the New Testament to the Old Testament the Revisers have done something to make more clear by extending their uniformity of rendering to cognate words. A good example of this is found in 2 Corinthians iii. 13-iv. 6, where *Moses' veil*, as the story is told in Exodus xxxiv. 29-35, is a beautiful Old Testament thread inwoven throughout, and binding the whole together. This interesting connexion, which is quite obscured by the old rendering of Chapter iii. 18 and Chapter iv. 3, is brought out into clear light by the *unveiled face* and the *veiled Gospel* of the New Version.

All the alterations noted above flow from the principle of giving to Greek words, as far as possible, a uniform English dress. And this uniformity is itself, as we have seen, an abundant recompense for the cost and toil of revision. But it is by no means the only gain. Frequently a more exact or more intelligible equivalent is found for a Greek word. And in some cases the improvement is of practical importance. Of this I will give a few examples.

The word *games* in 1 Corinthians ix. 25 and 2 Timothy ii. 5 not only gives sense to a sentence which before was senseless but brings out into clearer light a favourite metaphor of which St. Paul makes frequent use to convey important practical teaching. The word *secret* in Philip-
pians iv. 12, is also a great gain. But I wish that in a marginal note reference had been made to the cognate word *mystery*. These words are, in my view, an allusion to the ancient mysteries, such as those which made Eleusis famous. And the allusion embodies teaching of infinite importance. The Christian believer is brought into the secret chamber of God, and taught there truths known only by those to whom they have been revealed by the Spirit of God. This is the express teaching of 1 Corinthians ii. 6-16.

The word *lamp* in St. Matthew v. 15, has no small theological import. It recalls at once the earthenware lamps

found at Pompeii and elsewhere. Like these, we are but dust of the earth; and of ourselves as dark and as cold as the clay beneath our feet. But we are capable of being filled with and containing divine oil, even the Spirit of God, and of being lighted with fire from heaven. And, like lamps, for this end we were made. This beautiful analogy is obscured by the old rendering *candle*: I may, however, suggest that *lamp-stand* would be a better rendering of *λυχνία* than the neutral word *stand*. Even the similarity of sound of *lamp* and *lamp-stand* suggests that the one was designed for the other.

The word *bowl* instead of *vial* in Revelation xvi. will probably distress some lovers of the Old Version. But every one knows what a bowl is: which is more than can be said for *vial*.

The antiquated word just mentioned suggests another class of emendations in the New Version, viz., those in which obsolete and now unmeaning terms are displaced by such as all can understand. But even more important than this is the removal of old words which are still current and common in a new and quite different sense. It is better that a version give no sense at all rather than a wrong one.

The changed usage of the word *conversation* has obscured altogether the meaning of 1 Peter i. 15, 18; ii. 12; iii. 1, 2, 16, and other passages. The revised rendering of all these is an evident gain. But I regret that the root idea is not in some way associated with the verb in 1 Peter i. 17. I venture to suggest that the rendering *behaviour*, adopted in Chapters ii. 12 and iii. 1, 2, might have been maintained throughout. It is the more valuable because it has a cognate verb, *to behave oneself*. We should then read *holy in all behaviour: behave yourselves with fear during the time of your sojourning: your vain behaviour: and in iii. 16, your good behaviour in Christ*. In any case the connexion should have been noted in the margin.

A far more serious change of significance, obscuring many passages, and giving to others a wrong and sometimes dangerous sense, is found in the Authorised rendering of *σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζειν*. The Authorised Version renders these words nearly always *offence, offend*; in the sense of *strike the foot against or stumble, that against which one strikes his foot*. But this meaning is now displaced by that of *vex or annoy*, and in this sense the words are very common. This change gives to very many passages in the Authorised Version a meaning utterly wrong and even dangerous. This danger is completely removed in the Revised Version.

At the same time I do not think the Revisers have given the true sense of these words. Their derivation (the words themselves are not found in classic Greek) suggests at once the meaning *snare, ensnare*. And this is confirmed by a metaphorical use of the classic form of the word in line 687 of the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes: *σκανδάληθρ' ἰστὰς ἐπὼν*. The meaning I suggest accords with, and gives great significance to, all the passages in the New Testament in which the word is found, and accords on the whole with the use of the words in the Septuagint and Apocrypha. It also retains the word *stumble* for *προσκόπτω* and *πρόσκομμα*.

As illustrations of the above, I may quote the following. In St. Matthew v. 29 f.; xviii. 8 f., we are bidden by Christ to cast away, not a bodily member which vexes, but one that ensnares, us. To the men referred to in St. Matthew xiii. 21 persecution was a trap in which they were caught. St. Matthew xi. 6 suggests that in the action or circumstances even of Christ there was something which, to some men, might prove a snare. In St. Matthew xviii. 6, Christ refers not to those who vex, but those who ensnare, and thus injure or destroy, his little ones (compare also St. Matthew xvii. 27). And 1 John ii. 10 suggests that he who hates his brother carries *within him* a snare in which he

will be himself caught. The removal of the word *offend* from these passages is an immense gain.

But I do not like at all the new renderings, *stumbling block, occasions of stumbling, cause to stumble*. These renderings certainly depart from the etymological meaning of the word, which seems to me to be always present. And by confounding it with *προσκόπτω, πρόσκομμα*, they reduce to tautology Romans ix. 33; xiv. 13; 1 Peter ii. 8.

In my *Commentary on Romans* I have adopted the rendering *snare*, which is the more suitable because of its cognate verb *ensnare*. And I believe that this rendering might be adopted throughout the New Testament. The most difficult combination, *rock of a snare*, has some meaning. For the collocation of *rock* and *snare* suggests a rock on which those who step are caught as in a trap. And this is the sense suggested by the Greek words. Whereas, to most readers, the rendering retained by the Revisers, *rock of offence*, has no meaning whatever.

Not a few words of the Greek Testament are specially difficult to translate because we have no English word which awakens the same ideas and associations of ideas as does the Greek word. And some of these words are of great practical importance.

The word *τέλειος* denotes that which has reached its *τέλος* or goal, which has achieved or is achieving the aim of its existence. It denotes that which is full-grown, as distinguished from that of which the development is incomplete. What the English word *perfect* means, it is very difficult to say. But the idea of growth is no part of its connotation; and it frequently suggests the idea of a completeness which has no flaw and admits of no further progress. For these reasons it is a most undesirable rendering of a word frequently predicated of men on earth. The words *full-grown* or *mature*, and, for the verb, *bring to maturity*, are perhaps the best English equivalents. But,

in any case, the oneness of the idea embodied in this one important word demands one rendering in the text or the margin.

To say that the revised rendering of this word is very defective, is only to say that of which probably every member of the Committee is already conscious. Words like this make us feel how poorly even the best translations reproduce the thoughts and modes of thought of ancient writers. In most cases the Revisers have left unchanged the objectionable word *perfect*, even when used of men. In a few cases, *e.g.*, Ephesians iv. 13, Hebrews v. 14, they have done well by substituting for it the rendering *full-grown*. In 1 Corinthians ii. 6, the same rendering is put in the margin. In 1 Corinthians xiv. 20, we have the rendering *men*. These are undeniable improvements. It would, however, have been preferable to put the word *perfect*, if used elsewhere, in the margin of Ephesians iv. 13, as has been done in Hebrews v. 14; and to keep up the association of thought by putting the word *full-grown* in either the text or margin of Philippians iii. 15; Colossians i. 28; iv. 12; James iii. 2. But on the whole no one can deny that the new rendering is better than that of the Authorised Version.

Another word for which we have no English equivalent, but of which the Greek sense is uniform and clearly defined, is *ἐξουσία*. The meaning of it, I have already endeavoured to expound in this Journal.¹ The new rendering, *authority*, in 1 Corinthians xi. 10 is a great gain, as is *right* in 1 Corinthians ix. 4-12. But why this latter rendering is not extended to 1 Corinthians viii. 9 (compare ix. 18), or at least put in the margin, I do not know.

Very difficult to render is *ὑπομονή*; the more so because of the grandeur of the Christian virtue therein embodied, and because we need for its corresponding verb an English representative which will at once reveal the relationship.

¹ First Series, vol. xi. p. 27.

Except in two passages¹ from the most classic writer of the New Testament, where the verb has the good classic sense of *remain behind*, these words denote *continuing under*, combining the ideas of pressure and of continuance in spite of it. They combine the sense of our words *endurance* and *perseverance*, nouns which fortunately have corresponding verbs. The antithesis of ὑπομένω is φεύγω. The hardships and perils which beset the path of the early Christians, threatening to drive them back from the way of life, give to these words in the New Testament a very deep significance.

In the Authorised Version the substantive ὑπομονή is nearly always rendered *patience*; the verb is rendered *endure*, except in Romans xii. 12; 1 Peter ii. 20, and the passages noted above. This divided rendering weakens very much the significance of these grand words. And it leaves unnoticed the important element of *perseverance* which is ever present in them. Instead of the noble conception of going forward in face of foes who would drive us back, the rendering *patience* suggests to most Englishmen the sense of not losing one's temper. These great defects of the Authorised Version the Revisers have done nothing to correct; except that in James v. 11 the word *endurance* is put in the margin. Much better would it have been to put either *endurance* or *perseverance* in the text according as the idea of hardship or that of continuance was more prominent, and the other in the margin. This is a case in which the margin may do very much to supply the necessary defects of even the best translation.

Very much more difficult, and still more important, is the English rendering of the word ψυχικός. It is important because of the light which this adjective sheds on the exact meaning of the word rendered *soul*. It is extremely difficult because our language has no adjective at all akin to the substantive *soul*. The all-important task

¹ St. Luke ii. 43; Acts xvii. 14.

of reproducing the relation of *ψυχή* and *ψυχικός*, both the Authorised and the Revised Versions give up in utter despair. They thus permit the important argument of 1 Corinthians xv. 44-46 to remain absolutely unintelligible. The Revisers might have found some relief by putting in the margin against *ψυχικός* wherever found some such rendering as *soul-governed*. Clumsy as this may appear, it would at least keep up the connexion with the word *soul*. They have, however, done well in restoring *soul* in Ephesians vi. 6; Philippians i. 27. The significance of this correction is greater than at first sight appears. I am exceedingly curious to see how the Old Testament Company will treat the corresponding Hebrew word.

I must now pass to a few words for which, without any special difficulty, the Revisers have retained renderings which I think they ought to have changed.

The Revisers have, in my view, done well by retaining the general archaic tone of the Authorised Version. But where the Old Version uses two synonymous words, of which one gives to modern Englishmen a clear sense and the other is almost unintelligible, we ought to have in a Version designed for all sorts and conditions of men only the word which all can understand. I cannot see why the word *purge* as a rendering of *καθαίρω* is allowed to remain in 1 Corinthians v. 7 and 2 Timothy ii. 21, while in St. Matthew iii. 12; St. John xv. 2; Hebrews ix. 14, it is displaced by the very clear and good word *cleanse*.

The word *suffer* in St. Matthew xix. 14; St. Mark x. 14, is very familiar. But every mother knows that it prevents her from quoting these words of Jesus to her children as they stand in the Bible she uses. Surely no rendering is more inappropriate than one which connects the coming of little ones to Christ with suffering.

The Revisers have done good service by rendering *ζωοποιῶν* in 1 Corinthians xv. 45 by *life-giving*. Would

it not have been better to do this throughout rather than retain the rendering *quicken*, which to very many readers is unintelligible? Even the words *wit* and *wot* are to most of those for whom a translation of the Bible is most needed much less clear and forceful than *know* and *knew*.

The word *Hades* instead of *Hell* is a great gain; a gain which will probably be still more apparent when we have the Revised Old Testament. We may hope that it will in time do something to remove the present confusion in many minds of the state of the departed awaiting judgment with the state of those condemned at the Last Day. But the adoption of this word makes all the more inexplicable the refusal of a place in the new text to the still more distinctive word *Gehenna*. The rendering *Hell of fire* furnishes a remarkable example of men doing something yet afraid to do the one right thing which lay ready to their hand.

The marginal distinction in the New Version between *ναός* and *ἱερόν* is an undoubted gain. But the distinction of these two altogether different words ought to have been in the text. And to ordinary Englishmen, whatever the etymology may be, the word *temple* denotes a building devoted to God. And this is the true sense of *ναός*. On the other hand, *ἱερόν* denotes the entire sacred precinct, including the courts and porticoes around the sacred house. The rendering *temple* for *ἱερόν* suggests to thousands of readers that Christ and others actually walked in the sacred house. If this had been so, we need not wonder that the high priests called his attention to the impropriety of the children shouting¹ after Him in the temple. The word *temple* should, I think, be kept for *ναός*. For *ἱερόν*, *sacred place* would be a good equivalent, putting this word in connexion with other *sacred things* in 1 Corinthians ix. 13; x. 28; Romans xv. 16.

¹ St. Matthew xxi. 15.

The American suggestion that *demon* for δαίμων be in the text instead of in the margin seems to me good, as reproducing a distinction which all the New Testament writers who touch the subject scrupulously maintain. But even the marginal note is of great value.

I also wish that against the first occurrence of the word *Christ* there had been in the margin the explanation *Anointed*. The presence of this last word in the text of Acts iv. 26, with *Christ* in the margin, is a great gain.

The very worst and most inexcusable rendering of a Greek word which the New Version retains is, in my view, the word *Ghost* as a rendering of πνεῦμα in certain positions. So utterly dead, and therefore meaningless, is the word *Ghost*, that it cannot be used without the adjective *Holy*, nor with it if governing a genitive case as in Ephesians i. 13; iv. 30; 1 Thessalonians iv. 8. The only meaning the word has in modern English is a disembodied spirit. But even in this its only sense so objectionable is the word that the Revisers have not dared to render St. Luke xxiv. 37: *They supposed that they beheld a ghost*. It is now only a meaningless algebraic symbol which, joined to the adjective *holy*, theologians have thought fit to retain as a technical term for the Third Person of the Divine Trinity. It is thus a convenient embodiment of what I believe to be a correct deduction from the teaching of the New Testament. But for this reason it ought not to appear on the Sacred Page.

Moreover there is nothing whatever to gain by the use of this rendering. It suggests, even to the most intelligent reader, no conception suggested by the Greek word πνεῦμα and not suggested by the English rendering *Spirit*. On the other hand it obscures, so far as it has any influence at all, the one conception which the word πνεῦμα in all its connexions everywhere embodies. Especially it obscures the essential oneness of the nature of the human spirit and of the Spirit of God. To make this oneness of nature

conspicuous, the Holy Spirit thought fit to assume for Himself in the Inspired Books no designation except the word which also denotes the noblest element in man, marking the distinction where needful by the added words *of God, of Christ*, or by the significant adjective *Holy*. Surely we need not create a distinction which God has not made, by giving to the Spirit a different name.

It is worthy of notice that in the New Version the word *Ghost* has been in some places, *e.g.*, 1 Corinthians xii. 3, displaced by *Spirit*; because the former word obscured the connexion with the word *Spirit* in the context. The same reason demands that this useless and objectionable word be removed from the entire New Testament. For the whole is the context of every verse it contains.

After all this fault-finding, I cannot but say that the Revised Version is an unspeakable gain to all who read English. It is on the whole as good as we could fairly expect. It will be noticed that every one of the foregoing strictures is directed against a rendering retained from the Old Version. So that even if my strictures be just, we are no losers by the New Version. And it will be noticed that in close connexion with each stricture I have pointed to indisputable gains. The improvements I have mentioned are very numerous; and some of them have directly and indirectly great importance. Moreover, they suggest to the careful student a multitude of other similar improvements.

Against all these gains, in the department of the subject which has been considered in this paper, I know of no drawbacks worthy of the name. The objections made, not altogether without reason, against the style of the New Version, have but little bearing upon the rendering of Greek words. They affect chiefly the matter of my next paper. But defects of style are unworthy to be compared with the many and great improvements noted above.

I may say that the whole matter of the style of the New Version will receive due treatment from the very able pen of Dr. Sanday.

In another paper I hope to discuss the new renderings of Greek grammatical forms. I purpose to take up the various matters which in Greek Grammars fall under the head of Syntax; and to discuss the degree to which the Revisers have reproduced in English the sense which the Writers of the New Testament intended to convey by their use of Greek inflexions and particles and order of words. This task will be even more difficult than that which in this paper I have attempted. I shall not be able to give, as I have done here, my approval to all the changes the Revisers have made. At the same time, I shall endeavour to shew that on the whole they have done their work well, and have given to the millions who speak the English language a translation far better than any which has hitherto been published.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

IN a recent article in the *Expositor*,¹ Professor Wace has referred to the feeling which often arises in the minds of those who contemplate the heavens, "that man is too insignificant a creature to evoke those displays of the Divine love and grace of which our Faith speaks;" and has remarked that "some feeling of this kind is probably at the root of many difficulties felt by thoughtful men of science at the present day." There can be no doubt that this feeling prevails extensively, and operates powerfully; and it must be admitted that, at first sight, it seems not

¹ Vol. i., *Present Series*, pages 73-4.

unreasonable. That such a Being as his wonderful works more and more every day declare the Creator to be, should turn aside as it were from the development of his infinitely perfect and therefore immutable purposes in nature—stretching from eternity to eternity, and determining the conditions of unnumbered worlds—to listen to the prayers, to sympathize with the sorrows, to aid by supernatural means the efforts of creatures such as we, has seemed to many—perhaps in certain moods seems to most—a faith almost too daring, the dream of an overweening human self-esteem, natural enough in the infancy of the race when the earth appeared to be the universe and men the only children and sole care of the Father-God, but which cannot be entertained by minds habituated to the methods and familiar with the results of the science of these latter days.

And yet it must be clear, upon consideration, that such comparisons between the magnitude of the universe and the littleness of man have no real force as an argument against that lofty estimate of the value of something in human nature which is the basis of all religious faith and hope. The moral excellence which many men do, and which all, in a measure capable of indefinite increase, *may* possess, is not small as compared with immensity, nor insignificant as compared with infinity, nor of little value as compared with a thousand worlds. The terms of the comparison stand to each other in no relation of proportion whatsoever; they are simply incommensurable. Moral goodness belongs to an order of being altogether distinct from material magnitude, and, if we can form any judgment on the matter at all, one infinitely higher. We may safely conclude that the Almighty does not take delight in size, that mathematical relations are not the rules by which He measures value, that He weighs moral good and evil in quite other scales than those in which He weighed of old the mountains and the hills.

It is not, as some have represented, the pride of man which produces his religion, and prompts him to imagine that he is the object of the Divine regard in a special and peculiar sense. Rather is it a feeling very different from pride, the conviction that the Supreme Power must be also the Supreme Goodness, righteous Himself in all his ways and requiring righteousness from all his rational creatures, and the consciousness, common to man and strongest with the best men, that, weighed in his balance, they are found wanting. It is this instinctive conviction that the true glory of God is his goodness, and that all have sinned and come short of it, which has in every age caused men to fear his displeasure and to seek some way of regaining his favour. It is not, then, because we have high thoughts of ourselves, that we believe in those displays of Divine love and grace of which Christianity speaks; but because we cannot help thinking highly of our Maker. It is not because we are *men*, but because we are *moral agents*, capable, if we will, of working that righteousness which He values most, that we feel that our ways cannot be hid from the Lord, and that our lives and our deaths may be made precious in his sight. Whatever the creature conceived of might be, whatever the place or the mode of his existence, if only he were conceived of in *this* character, our conclusion would be the same. If it were made known to us that in the obscurest star amid the thousands of heaven a being was struggling or suffering for righteousness' sake, we should necessarily regard the dim spot which was his field of conflict or place of martyrdom with a deeper interest than we could feel in the brightest of the planets if it were known to be unpeopled, or peopled only with creatures who, however highly endowed in other respects, had no part in this warfare and no concern in the triumph in which we believe it will end. The facts and forces, the struggles and victories, of the moral world are, to man,

beyond all comparison the most important of all things—the attractions of history, the burden of prophecy, the elements which alone give value and significance to material existence and even to mind itself. And we cannot suppose that it can be otherwise with any superior intelligence, least of all with the Supreme. If it *were* otherwise, if the Supreme Intelligence were a mere constructor of worlds, and not also the Father and Redeemer of spirits; if He cared for suns and systems but could not concern himself about even the humblest human heart;¹ if He took delight in material order but had no sympathy with goodness and with those who are striving after it, the serpent's saying would be less than the truth, and man would be even better than his Maker. A creation, however vast, unconsecrated by some act of heroic self-sacrifice, would be a vulgar thing; a creator, however powerful, who could look upon such a sacrifice, wherever consummated, without sympathy and approval, would be no God. The material universe rises into real significance only when regarded as the stage on which the solemn drama of moral and spiritual action and passion works itself out to its eternal issues; infinite time and space are as nothing save as they are conditions, or aids, to the infinite perfection of the soul. The more we consider the matter the more we shall be persuaded that not height nor depth, nor immensity, nor eternity, nor material magnitude, nor even mental power, is the highest value, and consequently the final purpose, with the Creator of all things, but moral worth or goodness. The word has been greatly abused, so much so that it requires some effort to look through the verbal sign and see in its true quality the thing signified. But no one, I think, who does this can doubt

¹ "Neither in the sun nor in the mere physical forces of which it is the centre can we see anything approaching to the rank and dignity of the humblest human heart."—DUKE OF ARGYLL, *Contemporary Review* for January, p. 12.

that, in sober truth, and not in poetical hyperbole, it is the most valuable product which nature through all her ages of effort has evolved, the final cause of creation, the chief delight of God.

And to be persuaded of the transcendent value in the sight of God of moral excellence is to be persuaded that He has provided means adequate to its production and development in man. That system of means, wherever it is to be found, which is most effectual to this end, which most surely leads men along the true line of righteousness, which most powerfully awakens aspiration after and promotes growth in goodness, is and must be the one true religion of the world.

Is Christianity this religion? It may be. True, it is a "supernatural religion"; it affirms the existence, and professes to avail itself of the energy, of forces which positive science cannot find in nature. But a supernatural religion is not an impossibility: there *may* be powers at work in the world of which positive science knows nothing. The doctrine of Divine influence upon the human soul, upon which Christianity rests, is certainly not in itself incredible. Though it asserts a fact which is above the natural order, it asserts nothing which is opposed to the analogy of the natural. As there are physical forces, or rather perhaps one force variously manifested, by or through which the Supreme Power acts upon the material world, produces animal life, developes or evolves that life from lower to higher forms, from the mollusc, or something less, to man as he is, or that greater something which man in his physical nature may one day be; so there *may* also be a spiritual force, by or through which the Supreme Goodness acts upon the moral world, quickens the human soul, and leads it on from state to state, by an eternal process, to the fulness of its moral glory. And as the natural force exerts its energy according to determinate modes or "laws," by acting in harmony with and obeying which man may make it his

minister for good and derive from it the manifold blessings which it brings; so there *may* also be a system of spiritual laws, an economy of moral means, a supernatural religion, according to which this diviner power, this Spirit of holiness and of God, sheds abroad his influence upon moral beings, to the conditions of which they must conform who would be the subjects of his special ministrations and the recipients of his richest blessings. And what if Christianity be this religion—the divinely-appointed channel through which, though not exclusively yet most abundantly, this heavenly grace is given? There is nothing in all this which is intrinsically incredible, nothing which observation cannot render probable, nothing which experience may not fully prove.

I know that the reality of spiritual existence and supernatural influence has been denied by some in the name of science. But I know too that in this matter, at any rate, the name of science has been taken in vain, and that the process by which such results have been arrived at is the very reverse of scientific.¹ It is well known that some, who have been cautious and reverent investigators in the realm of physical nature, have been speculators, “saucy and overbold,” in that of spiritual being. They have been rigidly inductive in the one department, moving patiently from point to point, comparatively careless how slow their progress if only it were sure, and refusing to accept any doctrine which did not rest on a firm basis of ascertained facts. But, in the other department, they have pursued a different

¹ “I cannot help observing language used by some of our men of science which appears to savour rather of the adventurous spirit of the old Greek system-builders than of that caution, if I must not say humility, which is the general characteristic of modern physical philosophy and the most essential condition of its success . . . writings in which the Divine personality and the spirituality of the human soul appear to me to be either denied or ignored. But I am no less sure that science itself is not in the least responsible for these conclusions, and that if they are adopted by men of science it is wholly at their own risk.”—BISHOP THIRLWALL (*Address as President of the Royal Institution of South Wales*).

course. They have made no experiments, though the field lies equally open to experiment (of course by other methods, since spiritual things must be spiritually discerned), but have preferred to follow the "high priori road;" and starting from some general principle, based not on facts but upon their arbitrarily assumed absence, have "reasoned downwards," till they have not doubted only, but sometimes denied, the reality of any spiritual existence whatever. Because they have not found the supernatural in physical nature, where by the very terms of the definition it was not to be looked for, they have concluded that it is not to be found at all; and have neglected or refused to make any researches in that realm where only the appropriate experiment can be made and the truth determined. Like Lucretius, they have

"Dropped their plummet down the broad
Deep universe, and said: No God!"

But, seeking God by such processes, it is no wonder if they have not found Him. The plummet of physical science is not the fitting instrument for discovering the Infinite Spirit; a higher organon is needed for this investigation. The universe they have sounded, "broad and deep" though it be, is after all but one sphere, and that the lowest, of the true universe as it may be known to man. Physical and physiological research can go far; it has gone so far of recent years that some Christians have felt half-afraid lest it should succeed at last in reducing the whole world of being under the empire of mechanical necessity, prove men to be "magnetic mockeries—cunning casts in clay," and leave no room for religion. But all such fears are quite groundless. Science can go far, and the farther she can go the better; but she has found and she has recognized her limit. Beyond the molecular changes in the substance of the brain,

further than the furthest point to which scientific processes, the scientific reason, even the scientific imagination, can go, is the hyperphysical fact of consciousness. And, with regard to this, science admits that she knows nothing. Her far-reaching deep-searching analysis fails here. Her most delicate instruments are too coarse to dissect a motive, or weigh a desire, or measure the force of a moral effort. She can only stand powerless before the inexplicable undeniable facts and say: "This knowledge is too wonderful for me: it is high, I cannot attain unto it."¹ Yet consciousness is everything. It includes the whole world of feeling, the whole world of thought; all bodily sensations, all mental conditions, all moral emotions; whatever is lovely or pleasant, or just or true, or holy or divine. Outside of it either there is nothing, or all that is is good for nothing. In this sphere, the highest, the most real, perhaps, as even the scientists² admit, the *only* sphere of the universe, the laws of mechanical necessity do not rule; here, and not in the sphere of the physical, spiritual forces must be sought for and may be found; here there is ample room for the freest play of the most supernatural religion.

Christianity, then, for anything science can say, may be

¹ "The mind runs along the line of thought which connects [physical] phenomena, and from beginning to end finds no break in the chain. But when we endeavour to pass by a similar process from the physics of the brain to the phenomena of consciousness, we meet a problem which transcends any conceivable expansion of the powers we now possess. We may think over the subject again and again, it eludes all intellectual presentation. We stand at length face to face with the Incomprehensible."—DR. TYNDALL, *Belfast Address*, preface, p. xxix. "It is absolutely and for ever inconceivable that a number of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen atoms should be otherwise than indifferent as to their own position and motion, past, present, or future. It is utterly inconceivable how consciousness should result from their joint action."—DU BOIS REYMOND. See *Fortnightly Review*, vol. xviii., p. 585.

² "We have already seen clearly and distinctly, and in a manner which admits of no doubt, that all our knowledge is a knowledge of states of consciousness. 'Matter,' and 'Force' are, so far as we can know, mere names for certain forms of consciousness. . . . All the phenomena of Nature are, in their ultimate analysis, known to us only as facts of consciousness."—HUXLEY'S *Lay Sermons*, pp. 340, 341.

what it claims to be, the divinely appointed means to the moral perfection of man. Is it so? There is, in the nature of the case, but one process by which the question can be decided, the process of experiment. The supreme test of a religion, as of all practical systems, is power. That religion, and that only, is true which has truly power to do the work of religion. And whether Christianity possesses this power or not must be discovered, not by talking about it, not by reasoning about it, but by trying it. The pure reason, as Kant has shewn once for all to the satisfaction of all following philosophers, cannot prove a single fact in any department of human experience. When the facts are furnished, reason can deal with them and draw certain conclusions from them; but she cannot find them. They must be found by experience itself. They must be felt as existing; this is their only proof, and it is the best of all possible proofs. "The surest ground," as South has well said, "that a man can have for believing anything is that he feels it in himself;" and it is upon this rock, the rock of conscious experience, that a practical faith in any system or science or art must rest. The internal evidence of Christianity is consequently of necessity its only conclusive evidence. If the spiritual facts and forces of which it asserts the existence, and professes to employ the energy, really exist, and are truly operative, they must reveal themselves in the experience of those who conform to its conditions by the demonstration of the Spirit and with power. The natural man cannot discover them for they are spiritually discerned. "In order to an efficient belief in Christianity a man must be a Christian." ¹

What then, it may be asked, becomes of the external evidences of Christianity? Are they of no value? What is to be said of the work of Christian apologists in every age? Have they laboured in vain and spent their strength for

¹ Coleridge.

nought? Can reason, which is also of God, do nothing for religion? Must we wait until men have become Christians before we can hope to convince them, by arguments addressed to the understanding, that they ought to be Christians?

Not so. Reason can do much for Christianity, and all that is necessary. Though it cannot demonstrate that the Religion possesses the regenerating efficacy which it claims to possess, it can demonstrate that it has a right to have its efficacy tested. The Christian apologists have an indispensable work to perform; though they cannot force an efficient belief in Christianity on those who will not try it, they can force upon all who will seriously consider the question the conviction that Christianity is worth trying and ought to be tried. The point is an important one; and as the want of clear views with regard to it sometimes causes men to doubt the sufficiency of the external evidences of Christianity because they mistake their purpose, and to look for the proof of the religion in the wrong place, it well deserves the short consideration which I propose to give to it.

If a new religion were at any time proclaimed among men, it would not thereupon become their duty to accept it as true. It would not even become their duty to examine it, and try whether it were true or not. They would have a right to expect and require that it should in the first place make out a *primâ facie* case; that it should come with such credentials as to make it their reasonable duty to inquire into it earnestly, and put its pretensions to the proof. Until this had been done, they would have a right to remain indifferent to it. Men are not bound to seek after and search into every new system which professes to have come from God; if they were, there would be no lack of pretenders, and a long life would be too short to give them all a trial. It is only when it becomes un-

reasonable not to examine and try a religion which is new, that it becomes wrong to reject it, even though it should in fact be true.

The principle applies to Christianity as to all other systems of religion. It also is bound to make out a *primâ facie* case. It must meet men who are not yet Christians upon their own ground, and "shew them signs," signs which will necessarily change with the changing ages, but which must always be sufficient to render indifference to its claims unreasonable, and therefore wrong. And this it both has done from the beginning, and does at the present day.

In the beginning it did so by miracle. Those to whom Jesus in the first place came were not bound to receive Him for his word's sake. They might say, and justly, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; what they teach us that we will observe and do. But who is *He*, this peasant of Galilee, that we should do his commandment and observe his rules?" The force of this objection Jesus Himself admitted. He allowed that, if it had not been met, they would not have sinned in rejecting Him. But it *was* met. He shewed them the sign. He did among them works which no other man did. Unless they could deny his miracles, they could not, on their own principles, dispute his claim—not indeed to be forthwith accepted as the Messiah, but at least to be listened to without prejudice, and to have his doctrine tried. Even his miracles were not proofs of the truth of his doctrine; for this reason, if for no other, that those to whom He came believed that great signs and wonders might be wrought by a false prophet. They might say without inconsistency, so far as the mere act of power was concerned: "He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils." But they could not, without inconsistency, refuse to see whether this were so or not. They were not necessarily bound to

recognize at once as Divine even this Spirit, mighty as it was; but they were bound, when they saw its might, to try its moral quality. If they had come to the inquiry with honest and candid minds, they would not long have remained in suspense as to whether the worker of these wonders were the colleague of Beelzebub or the Son of God. But they were not candid; and this was their condemnation. They closed their eyes to the light, because they loved darkness better. They hardened their hearts against the Spirit of Truth, who doubtless strove with them as He strives with all; and thus committed the sin which, not by any arbitrary decree, but by its very nature, cannot be forgiven.

Such was the purpose and such the effect of miracle on the original institution of Christianity. It did not prove the truth of the religion, but it made it the reasonable duty of those to whom it came to put it to the proof. And it is not easy to see how this indispensable end could have been effectually attained otherwise. It may be, as Butler suggests,¹ that, according to the law of the universe, special messages of Divine grace are always accompanied by special manifestations of Divine power, though, in consequence of the comparative rarity of the instances on earth, it is impossible for man to verify the law inductively; and to us, consequently, miracle must seem to be and must be regarded as an interruption, or rather as an overruling, of natural law. However this may be, it is certain that this was virtually the view which prevailed among the Jewish people in the time of Christ, and that it made a supernatural sign from Him almost a moral necessity. Though it was not believed that all who wrought miracles must be sent of God, it was believed that whoever was sent of God would possess and would exercise the power of working miracles; and, consequently, the absence of

¹ *Analogy*, Part II., chap. i.

miracles would be the absence of the sign which alone could make it obligatory upon them, or even lawful for them, to listen to the teacher of any new religion. And it is certain that the miracles of Christ were effectual to this end. They made it incumbent upon those to whom He came to hear without prejudice, if not with favourable prepossession, what the new Prophet had to say; they left those who rejected Him unheard, or who heard Him only with a predetermination to reject, without excuse: and they were the means of leading many to listen with candour, to examine, and to believe.

Having accomplished their purpose, they ceased. The Apostles wrought them less and less frequently; and their successors have not wrought them at all. Their place was taken, and their function fulfilled, by other evidences. The teachers of the Religion shewed new and not less convincing signs. When they went everywhere preaching the word, testifying to the resurrection of Christ, suffering the loss of all things for his sake, their evident sincerity, their self-sacrifice, their noble lives and heroic deaths, were a sufficient reason why men should listen to their message with candid minds, and try whether their sayings were true or not. When the number of believers multiplied, when the new religion demonstrated its power by doing its work, transforming bad characters, vivifying cold hearts, redeeming, regenerating, and emancipating the most depraved of mankind,¹ a case was made out which rendered a careless indifference to its call unreasonable, and a rejection of its

¹ "The Fathers . . . urged with a just and noble pride, that whatever doubt there might be of the truth of the Christian doctrines, or of the Divine origin of the Christian miracles, there was at least no doubt that Christianity had transformed the characters of multitudes, vivified the cold heart by a new enthusiasm, redeemed, regenerated, and emancipated the most depraved of mankind. Noble lives crowned by heroic deaths were the best arguments of the infant Church. Their enemies themselves not unfrequently acknowledged it."—LECKY, *History of European Morals*, vol. ii. pp. 440-1.

offers sin. When "the Christian Church grew up a stately and spreading tree, overtopping the older and less vigorous growths, and stifling them by its shade,"¹ until it stood not simply pre-eminent, but alone, the one religious teacher and guide of the nations—this standing miracle, this continuing sign, sufficed of itself to make the neglect of its claims inexcusable, and the trial of its efficacy as a moral system a duty which could not be put by.

In these latter days this always indispensable end is attained by the combined force of the appeals to historical testimony, to the natural reason, and to the moral sense, which constitute what are commonly known as the Evidences of Christianity. Men have still a right to say to the Religion: What sign shewest thou? And the Religion is still bound to answer the challenge and shew the sign. But times change, and that which sufficed in the past is not necessarily sufficient for the present. Miracles are wrought no longer; Christianity is not the only system which now claims to have the power of regenerating the race. Science has appeared since Christ; she too has produced her credentials, and has shewn that she also is of God; and it is asserted by some that the fuller natural revelation has discredited the supernatural religion, that the pretensions of Christianity can no longer justify themselves to the "Faith of Reason," and that its methods and results do not satisfy the philosophical requirements and meet the moral and spiritual needs of the present day. If this were so, it would no longer be the duty of men to receive it. If science could shew that the supernatural does not exist, and that consequently Christianity cannot be Divine in the sense in which it has always claimed to be so; if philosophy could prove that Christ was nothing more than a human teacher, and that his system was only one of a series of natural developments

¹ Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 19.

of the religious instinct, good for its time, but which has lost or is losing its efficacy, men would have a reasonable excuse for turning away from the Christian faith as a "creed outworn," and seeking salvation elsewhere. It is the duty of all who know that the religion of Christ is indeed divine, and as divinely efficacious as ever, to see to it that no such excuse shall be left to any. It is for the Christian apologists of the present day to meet the men of science and of philosophy on their own ground, as their predecessors met the Jew and the Greek of old; and to prove to them from their own principles—the principles of natural reason and common sense—that they have no right not to be Christians. And they have done so. They cannot, it is true, prove the supernatural by means of the natural; they cannot demonstrate by *à priori* reasoning that which can only be discovered by experience. But they *can* shew that neither our present knowledge of physical nature, nor any conceivable increase in that knowledge, can disprove in the slightest degree the spiritual and the divine; that philosophy cannot produce the shadow of a reason why the Gospel of Christ may not be the power of God to the salvation of every one who receives it; that a system of moral discipline which has been incomparably the most effectual means to its great practical end in the past—which has "produced more heroic actions and formed more upright men than any other"¹—may reasonably be expected to be efficacious in the present and in the future; and that men of science of all men,—who have no more right than other people to refuse or neglect to employ the most effectual means to their moral and spiritual improvement, and whose motto, as we are often reminded, is "Ex-

¹ "One great cause of its success was that it [Christianity] produced more heroic actions and formed more upright men than any other creed; but that it should do so was precisely what might have been expected."—LECKY, *History of European Morals*, vol. i. p. 419.

periment, experiment, nothing proves but experiment,"—are bound among their many experiments, and more than any other, to make the experiment of the Christian religion.

Such, then, is the purpose, and such the effect, of the evidences of Christianity in the present age. They cannot demonstrate the truth of the Religion now any more than miracles could demonstrate it at the time of its first promulgation; but they can shew now, what miracles shewed then, that it is the duty of men to examine it earnestly and put its power to the proof. To this extent they are conclusive signs, so conclusive that it is probably quite safe to say of those who are not persuaded by them, that neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead. If any one who addresses himself to a study of the writings of Christian apologists expects that they will remove all metaphysical difficulties, explain all theological mysteries, answer all speculative objections, he will be disappointed; just as he would be disappointed if he addressed himself with similar expectations to an examination of the evidences of any other practical system or of any physical science. None of these (as I may perhaps hereafter have an opportunity of pointing out) could be proved true by the mode in which many persons demand that the truth of Christianity shall be proved. But if the candid student of the evidences of Christianity remembers that all that the Christian advocate has to do is to shew him that the Religion of Christ comes to him with such credentials that he cannot reasonably reject it untried, or safely put it aside until he has found them insufficient, he will be satisfied that this much has been abundantly made out. And if this has been accomplished, it is enough. It will not of course be enough for those who, being perfectly satisfied with their own righteousness, feel no need for any religion at all. For such no sign will be sufficient; the most powerful argument will be as unavailing to move them to make a trial of Christianity

as the most striking miracle was to their prototypes of old. With such men nothing can be done ; there is no help for them. Nor will it be enough for those sceptics who are not really in earnest in the matter of religion, who “doubt for doubting’s sake, and seek only to remain undecided ;”¹ such men will never want some speculative excuse for refusing to put Christianity to the proof. But to those who—feeling that they are not what they should be, and honestly wishing to become better—earnestly seek for that religion which will be most effectual to this end, Christianity comes with the fullest confidence and with all-convincing signs. Such men will almost certainly be persuaded that the religion of Christ has the first claim upon them, and that it is their reasonable duty to try it. To this extent the evidences of Christianity are not sufficient merely, but superabundant. No other way of salvation, no other means to the moral perfection of man, can be compared with it for a moment. It is no fanatical assertion, no uncharitable judgment, to say that those who reject, untried, a religion which comes to them with such credentials as the Christian act unreasonably and are without excuse.

The external evidences, then, are sufficient to make it the duty of men to try Christianity, and the internal evidence is sufficient for the rest. The trial of the Religion will be its proof. Those who do the will of Christ will know that his doctrine is of God. An innumerable cloud of witnesses in every age since He came have testified, not with their lips only but by their lives, that this saying is true ; and those who in this age make the same experiment will have the same experience. They will have the surest ground for believing the power of the Religion that a man can have for

¹ “Nec tamen scepticos imitabar qui dubitant ut dubitent et præter incertitudinem nihil quærunt. Nam contra, totus in eo eram ut aliquid certi reperirem.” [I did not, however, imitate the sceptics who doubt for doubting’s sake, and seek only to remain undecided. On the contrary, my whole intention was to find out something certain.]—DESCARTES : *De Methodo*.

believing anything; they will feel it in themselves. Against a practical faith built upon this rock, the winds and floods of a merely speculative scepticism will blow and beat in vain.

If any man makes the experiment and finds it fail; if the Christian worship of God—the worship of God as revealed in Christ—awakens within him no increased sympathy with moral excellence, and does nothing to change him into the same image; if obedience to the commands of Christ—the practice of his hard but most necessary lessons of humility, charity, forgiveness, self-sacrifice—fails to promote his growth in goodness; if the promise of Christ is not fulfilled in his experience, and no Divine influence leads him along the way to heaven; if the Christian means of grace and the Christian hope of glory prove inadequate to the needs of his spiritual nature and ineffectual to move him to sustained moral effort, and thus ensure his constant progress towards moral perfection: if he can truly say this, then, indeed, he will have earned the right to put Christianity on one side and to try some other religion. The real existence of such honest doubters may perhaps be honestly doubted. But if any man even professes to be so, Christians, being unable to judge him, will have no right to condemn him. The last word will have been spoken; the supreme effort will have been made; the judgment must be left in the hands of God: if He sees that the doubt is indeed honest, we may be sure that neither will He condemn. But the scepticism of those who will not make the trial, who stand contemptuously or self-complacently aloof from Christianity, caring for none of these things; or who, if they examine it at all, do so as a mere amusement, and, instead of putting its moral efficacy to a practical test, content themselves with raising speculative objections against the principles on which it is supposed to rest—objections the like of which always may be (but never are) raised against every other system or science which has

ever been devised for the benefit of man :—such scepticism is not, as it sometimes assumes to be, peculiarly rational and philosophical, but is plainly unreasonable, and is wrong.

T. M. HOME.

TATIAN'S DIATESSARON.

HAVING seen good reasons for accepting the conclusions of Moesinger and Harnack, that we really have before us in a Latin translation Ephraem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron, and consequently in great measure the Diatessaron itself, it remains to enquire more particularly into the extent and accuracy of our new acquisition. This enquiry seems to lead to at least one conclusion which has been hitherto generally doubted, and which must therefore be advanced with some diffidence. But the evidence in its favour will, we think, appear considerable, and the consequences it invites or suggests are of great interest. This conclusion is that in the Harmony of which we owe the preservation to Victor of Capua, contained in the famous *Codex Fuldensis*, and which, in place of the four Gospels, presents us with a single Gospel, composed out of the four, we possess a document which is at all events very closely allied with Tatian's Diatessaron. Indeed the impression of the present writer is that it exhibits substantially the document on which Ephraem commented, with some occasional alterations of order and some few additions; while there is also the important difference that in Victor's *Evangelium* Tatian has been transferred into the Latin text of St. Jerome, whereas Ephraem commented upon him in a Syriac translation. This conclusion, for reasons we will presently mention, would give Tatian a very curious and interesting place in the history of German Christianity;

but we will proceed at once to consider the facts immediately in question.

It is easily seen that Ephraem's exposition makes no pretence to be a continuous commentary upon the work before him. It passes from one salient text in the Evangelical narrative to another, frequently implying, in the observations it makes, a recognition of all that lies between them, but not always distinctly quoting those intervening statements or commenting upon them. Thus, at the outset, in dealing with St. Luke's narrative of the conception and birth of John the Baptist, the texts specifically quoted are St. Luke i. 5, 6, 14, 15, 76, 13, 18, 17, 24, 26, 32, 36, 38, 43, 48, 45, 42, 78, 79. Again, in the narrative of the visit of Nicodemus to our Lord the only texts quoted are St. John iii. 13, 12, 10, 8, 4, 5, 6, 14. The narrative in fact is taken for granted, and only a few leading points are emphasized. Sometimes only a Verse or two out of a whole Chapter is noticed. Thus from the 21st Chapter of St. John, all that is quoted is from the last two words of Verse 19, "Follow me," to the end of Verse 22, but the commentary, which speaks of our Lord teaching Simon *per interrogaciones*, implies that the rest of the narrative was in the context.

What we have preserved to us, therefore, is a kind of selection of leading texts. They enable us to form a clear conception of the general course of the harmony as a whole, but they imply a great deal more as their context and background; nor can we be justified in concluding that a passage or a verse which is not commented upon by Ephraem was not present in Tatian—a consideration which bars some negative conclusions towards which Harnack points. The verses themselves which we have above quoted are printed in spaced type by Moesinger; and from some of his notes it may be concluded, though the statement is nowhere made explicitly, that these quotations are marked by red ink in the original MS. It is evident that out of such

materials as these we could but partially reconstruct the work to which they belong, but they are sufficient to enable us to test very closely the claims of any similar work which has been treated as Tatian's.

Now Victor of Capua tells us that, about the year 540, a volume came into his hands which contained the four Gospels made into one. It was without a title, and he could not discover the name of the author. But he found in Eusebius two notices of such Harmonies, one in the *Epistle to Carpianus*, describing a work by Ammonius of Alexandria, another in the *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 29, describing the work of Tatian. The Harmony of Ammonius is said to have given St. Matthew continuously, and to have appended to his text throughout the passages of the other Evangelists. This, as Victor rightly concluded, could not be the work before him, since, although it mainly followed the guidance of St. Matthew in the order of the narrative, it by no means followed him so closely as Eusebius's account implies. Victor accordingly was satisfied to attribute it to Tatian, without taking account of difficulties which we shall have to notice. He made some curious errors in his Preface which we pass over as of no consequence to our present argument; but he spent great labour in correcting the text, and supplying it with references to the Gospels themselves, and we owe to his care the present invaluable Codex at Fulda. The real difficulties in the way of his supposition consist in the fact, that, in more than one particular, the Harmony fails to present the characteristics which, as we have seen, are known to have been those of Tatian's work. Tatian is said to have begun with the words, "In the beginning was the Word," whereas in Victor's Codex St. Luke's four verses of preface precede these words from St. John. Again, it was an essential characteristic of Tatian's work to omit the genealogies; but both the genealogies are

given in the Codex. These objections would probably be sufficient to decide the question, as they are considered to do by Dr. Lightfoot (*Contemporary Review*, May, 1877), in the absence of strong evidence on the other side. But if there were other good reasons for believing that Victor's book is substantially Tatian's Harmony, such difficulties might, it would seem, be very simply accounted for by supposing that the Diatessaron which, as we have seen, was popular even among the orthodox, had been in some parts supplemented and corrected for their use. This being the state of the case, we proceed to explain what is the new evidence afforded by Dr. Moesinger's publication.

Observing that the order of the quotations in the opening of Ephraem's Commentary followed closely that in the Codex Fuldensis, we proceeded to compare them throughout, underlining every passage in the Codex which is quoted in Ephraem, and marking every quotation in Ephraem according to the page in the Codex, and *vice versâ*; and the result is to shew that for the most part the two proceed *pari passu*, and more particularly that they agree together in their order in a number of instances in which that order is a very remarkable one. Harnack's observation of one such case (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, 1881, p. 90) led him to throw out the enquiry whether there might not be some relation between the two works; but he seems to have had no anticipation of the close correspondence which actually exists.

The first seventeen Chapters in the Codex contain in the same order the passages which are commented upon in the first four Chapters of Ephraem. We enumerate their contents as they stand at the head of the Codex; and it is worth observing that although the first few verses of the text of the Codex are St. Luke's Preface, the first *Chapter*, as thus given, is "In principio verbum," shewing that it

was felt that these words were substantially the commencement of the Harmony. Then follows the account of the priesthood of Zacharias, the message of the angel Gabriel to Mary, the nativity of John the Baptist, the generation and nativity of Christ, the appearance of the angel to the shepherds, the circumcision of our Lord, the visit of the Magi, the flight of our Lord and his parents to Egypt, the massacre of the Innocents, our Lord's return from Egypt, his visit to Jerusalem and his staying behind in the temple. Then follows the appearance of John the Baptist, our Lord's baptism by him, our Lord's temptation, the narrative of John's two disciples following Jesus, and the incident of Philip and Nathanael. Chapter xviii. in the Codex, giving St. Luke's account of the commencement of our Lord's ministry in the synagogue of Nazareth, to which is added, from St. Matthew and St. Mark, the brief summary of his message—"The time is fulfilled, repent and believe the gospel, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"—is passed over by Ephraem in this place, but a reference is made to it later on. Then follows, at the end of Ephraem's Chapter iv., a heading which perplexes Moesinger, and at the meaning of which Harnack only guesses: "*Ordo et solennitas apostolorum Domini.*" A few brief comments follow, speaking of the apostles as having been catchers of fish, and as having become catchers of men. Moesinger says in a note, "*Nescio quo ex libro ecclesiastico sequentia desumpta sint.*" Harnack says, "Probably the author placed here an account of the twelve apostles." The point, however, seems at once explained by the Codex. There follows in Chapters xix. xx. xxi. xxii. and xxiii. a succession of passages from St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John, describing the various calls of the disciples, the miraculous draught of fish which led to Peter's falling on his knees and to our Lord's assurance to him that henceforth he should catch men, our Lord's returning to Judæa

with his disciples, and there baptizing, or rather his disciples baptizing, and finally the enumeration of the Twelve in St. Matthew x.¹ That this important subject should be thus introduced in its entirety by both Harmonies at this point is a striking illustration of their similarity; while the fact that Ephraem should be content to notice it in a single brief paragraph shows very clearly the fragmentary nature of his work.

At this point we encounter an apparent break in the parallelism of the two texts. The Codex proceeds to give the Sermon on the Mount, as though an essential part of the commission of the Twelve. Whereas the next Chapter, the 5th, in Ephraem's Harmony, notices the marriage in Cana, recurs to the appointment of the Twelve, and the night's fishing of St. Peter, and finally treats the healing of the paralytic, and the disciples plucking the ears of corn on the sabbath. Even here, however, it is remarkable that there are indications of agreement. For while the Codex gives the marriage feast in Cana immediately after the Sermon and the commission of the Twelve, and the other incidents occur in the same connexion, it is observable that in its 19th Chapter, in connexion with the story of St. Peter fishing, and before the Sermon, it interpolates from the narrative of Cana the single verse (John ii. 11) "and his disciples believed on him." The idea of the connexion between the miracle in Cana and the commission of the Apostles is thus present in both. Then follows in Ephraem the Sermon, and the mission of the Twelve in St. Matthew x., a part of which in the Codex likewise follows the Sermon, and is combined with the mission of the Seventy in Luke x. The incidents, in a word, in this portion of Ephraem's Harmony, which occupies his Chapters v.-viii., are all in

¹ St. Matt. iv. 17-22. St. Mark i. 15. St. Luke v. 1-11. St. John ii. 11. St. Matt. ix. 9. St. John iii. 22-iv. 3. St. Matt. iv. 12-16-iv. 23-v. 10; x. 2-4. St. Mark iii. 13, 14. St. Luke iv. 42, 43; vi. 13, 20.

Victor's Harmony, and in a similar connexion, though not in the same order. But after we pass to Chapter ix. of Ephraem, which commences with John's message to our Lord enquiring whether he were the Christ, the two fall once more into agreement and with only occasional and unimportant exceptions they run side by side to the close. In this portion is contained the great bulk of both works, occupying from Chapters ix. to xxii. in Ephraem's work, and from lxxv. to clxxxii. in Victor's. The order, moreover, in these portions of the work is, in some instances, so marked and peculiar as to preclude any supposition of its having been accidentally adopted by two independent writers. Thus in both, immediately before the particular starting-point which we have just named—the message of John—comes the incident of our Lord's visit to Martha and Mary. After the discourse in St. John respecting the bread from heaven, there follows immediately in Ephraem, but in the Codex with the interval of a few verses on the ceremonial particularity of the Pharisees, the saying "Whosoever curseth father or mother, let him die the death; but ye say," etc. In Ephraem the connexion is obscure; the Codex renders the connexion quite plain. But the most remarkable of these special illustrations is furnished by the position assigned to the visit of Nicodemus to our Lord. By both Harmonies it is placed during our Lord's last visit to Jerusalem, after his triumphal entry into the Holy City. Another instance may be mentioned in the same connexion, in which the Codex serves to explain Ephraem's order. In Ephraem we have in immediate succession the drying up of the fig-tree, the visit of Nicodemus, and the unjust judge. Why should the unjust judge appear in such a connexion? But in the Codex, we have first the visit of Nicodemus, then the drying up of the fig-tree, and then the unjust judge; and the latter parable is evidently introduced as falling in with the lesson of earnestness in prayer which our Lord urged

on the disciples from the miracle. It is difficult not to suppose that, in this instance at all events, the Codex represents the original order of the Harmony; but it is not so easy to decide whether the order in which Ephraem's scholia treat the incidents is the order in which they stood in his text, or whether he accidentally disregarded it.

With all this continuous and specific parallelism, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the Codex Fuldensis we have, in the Hieronymian version, substantially the same work as that on which Ephraem commented, although occasionally supplemented, and, in a few instances, partially re-arranged. The additions, however, can hardly have been numerous. Looking through the copy of the Codex Fuldensis, in which, as has been said above, the passages actually quoted by Ephraem have been marked, there appear to be only 19 pages out of 137 from which some quotation has not been made. Even those omissions are sometimes only apparent, as an unmarked page may belong to a passage commencing or concluding on the one next to it, and the marked quotation on the latter may indicate that Ephraem has commented on the whole passage. We repeat that all this is totally independent of the text, respecting which Ephraem's version has an independent and unique value. But it seems to establish the very interesting fact that Tatian's Diatessaron found acceptance in the West as well as in the East, and was transferred, rather than translated, into a Western Version. The statement of Theodoret, referred to in the previous article, renders this very intelligible. If the work was so popular in the East, and so easily available for orthodox use, that more than two hundred copies were current in his diocese not long before in the year 453, it is not surprising to find it existing in a Latin form in the time of Victor, a hundred years later.

In the present article we must content ourselves with pointing out this apparent identity in substance of Tatian's

Harmony with Victor's. If it be established, it will give a new interest to Victor's work; but it would be beyond our scope to press this branch of our inquiry further. One other very interesting historical consequence may, however, in conclusion, be mentioned. Victor's Harmony was the basis of two of the most precious documents of old German literature. It was translated into Old German in the first third of the 9th century (a good edition was published in 1872, with a complete glossary by Sievers), and it is also the main source of the noble Old Saxon epic, *the Heliand*. This is a poem in which it has been said (Hase, *Geschichte Jesu*) that the Gospel seems transferred into the very flesh and blood of the German people. It must have familiarized them with the story of the Gospels, just as Cædmon familiarized our Anglo-Saxon forefathers with the Scripture histories in his poetical narratives. It must have been the popular German Gospel of the time and district. But, as we have said, it is mainly derived from Victor, and Victor, as we have seen, is substantially Tatian. It follows that some of the best inspiration of Old German Christianity, and some of our noblest relics of Old German literature, are indirectly due to that heretical writer. It would be difficult to name any work of Christian antiquity which has had so varied and, in some respects, so useful a career. Popular for three hundred years in the country in which it was written, it finds a home and a clothing in the West a hundred years afterwards. The copy of it which Victor had transcribed is said to have been the companion of St. Boniface, and was perhaps in his hands at the hour of his martyrdom. The work was then transferred to German song, and lived in the heart of the German people. Then it was long forgotten, and its true history lost. But at length a monk from the Germany which it had helped to Christianize re-discovers it in another form in an obscure branch of Eastern literature; and the Harmony having thus travelled

from East to West twice over, through a space of some 1700 years, Tatian at last receives the justice which, for one service at all events, is eminently his due.

H. WACE.

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST OF ST. PAUL.

III. SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

2 CORINTHIANS i. 5: "For as the sufferings of Christ overflow to us." We have here a distinct recognition of the Christian Founder as a Man of Sorrows, and as a Man of Sorrows after the Pauline type. It will not be denied that, in speaking of a suffering Christ, St. Paul can only be speaking of a historical Christ; he would not apply such an expression to the exalted or risen Messiah. But what he here says is that the sufferings, which admittedly belonged to the personal Christ, had, so to speak, burst their personal embankment and run over into his own life. If we wish to know, therefore, what was the nature of those sorrows which distinguished the life of the Son of Man, we shall find a miniature portrait of them in the experience of the Gentile Apostle. We see that one great feature of St. Paul's suffering was the absence of a bond of sympathy between himself and those for whose salvation he laboured. Witness that remarkable passage, Galatians iv. 19, where he strikes the very key-note of his spiritual sufferings: "My little children of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." He desires us to believe that, in the experience of this suffering, he has received, as it were, a mantle of apostolic succession from the Founder of Christianity Himself, and invites us to read in his experience the illustration and the narrative of that special phase of sorrow which distinguished the historical life of the Son of Man.

2 *Corinthians* i. 19, 20: "For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, . . . was not yea and nay, but in Him was yea; for all the promises of God in Him are yea and in Him verily." The reiterated affirmation is strongly suggestive of that formula which our Gospels have so constantly put into the mouth of the Christian Founder as a prelude to his utterances, "Verily, verily, I say unto you"; and it is hardly possible to doubt that in the ears of the Gentile Apostle the refrain of that formula was ringing. As we have elsewhere said, however, we care little for verbal parallels. Here, as ever, our object is to find, not so much a congruity of expression, as a congruity of thought. Is the portrait here given of the Christian Founder analogous to the portrait which we know? Perhaps we shall best arrive at an answer by considering the feature which St. Paul here presents to us. The impression created by his words is a strong sense of contrast. There rises before us the picture of a great Teacher whose manner of tuition is distinguished from that of all other Jewish masters. We see the masters of the Jewish schools pronouncing wavering and qualified decisions, oscillating between the yea and the nay. Here is a Teacher who speaks with authority, and not as the scribes. His sentences are marked by no wavering, his decisions are burdened by no qualifying clauses; He goes right to the mark and takes definite aim. The negative element of the Jewish law is, with Him, exchanged for a positive element; his teaching is not "Thou shalt not," but "Thou shalt." The old form of prophecy which qualified its predictions according to the character of the times, is replaced, in Him, by a promise which speaks in the categorical imperative, which pronounces without reservation the divine blessedness of the poor in spirit, the divine vision of the pure in heart, and the divine rest of the consciously labouring and heavy-laden. We must remember that St. Paul is here professedly speaking, not of the risen Messiah,

but of the Christ of history; the proof lies in the fact that he does not speak of *Christ*, but of *Jesus Christ*. Wherever the earthly name of the Messiah is used, it is used in order to indicate that the thing which is being recorded is not an abstract statement but a historical occurrence. When St. Paul says that in Jesus Christ the promises of God were distinguished from other promises by their positive and unqualified character, he is speaking of promises which were not simply made in the heart, but which had been uttered by the mouth of history. He means to record an actual reminiscence of the personal life of the Christian Founder, to reproduce a characteristic note of that teaching which had made so many and such zealous disciples. The impression, therefore, which his words convey is the impression which they are intended to convey—the reproduction of a living portrait, the memory of an actual life. It will be for the modern Christian consciousness to say whether the Pauline memorial of the Christian Founder's manner of tuition is identical or harmonious with that which our Gospels have made the possession of Christendom.

2 *Corinthians* v. 17; iii. 18. Here is one of those "promises of God in Him" alluded to in the previous Section: "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." The privilege of union with Christ is here said to consist in a new birth, in the conviction that the moral past has been rolled away, and that the soul can begin its life again with the freshness of a little child. In *Galatians* vi. 15 the same idea is presented from another point of view: "Neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." In the Epistle to the *Corinthians* the re-creation of the soul is contemplated as a privilege involved in the acceptance of Christianity; in the Epistle to the *Galatians* it is contemplated rather as a

necessary *condition* to the acceptance of Christianity, a state of spiritual consciousness without which no man can enter into the Messiah's kingdom. We are undoubtedly here on the lines both of the fourth Evangelist and of the Synop-
tists. We have all the substance of that message which the Christian Founder is said to have proclaimed to Nicodemus : " Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God " ; we have all the elements of that Synoptic teaching which insists on the acquisition of the child-life as the condition of entering into the kingdom of heaven. If we pursue the subject still further, we shall find ourselves more and more on the lines of this Christian tradition. St. Paul says that, to become a Christian, a man must be born again ; if a second birth is the condition to the acceptance of Christianity, what is the condition requisite to obtaining the second birth ? We have already seen that baptism was with Paul a sign of admission into the Messianic kingdom. Are we then to understand that, in order to be born again, a man had simply to be baptized with water ? Let us turn back for an answer to 2 Corinthians iii. 18, where we read these words : " We all, with unveiled face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are transfigured into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Lord, the Spirit." Here we have a description of the same process of re-creation recorded in the passage before us ; the old man is transfigured into a new man. But in this latter passage we have an additional item of information ; we are told that the agency which produces the process is the divine Spirit. St. Paul, then, like the fourth Evangelist, associates the second birth with water and the Spirit. It will be remembered that, in our fourth Gospel, the Christian Founder is made to say that his converts shall receive more power when his historical presence has passed from the midst of them. If St. Paul were acquainted with such a fact, it would explain his emphatic reference to " the Lord, the *Spirit*," evidently

used in contradistinction to the *Christ of history*. Let us just remark in passing, though it is somewhat irrelevant to the present topic, that the use of the word "transfigured" is suggestive. It is the same word which is employed in Romans xii. 2: "Be ye transfigured in the renewal of your minds"; and it is the same word which is used by our Evangelists to describe the transformation of Christ's person on the holy mount. If we believe 2 Peter i. 17, we shall have no difficulty in accepting, as we shall have no object in avoiding, the conclusion that St. Paul's words imply a knowledge of the narrative of Christ's transfiguration. If we do not believe 2 Peter i. 17, we shall still probably conclude that the reference to such a fact in that Epistle proves the existence of a long and widely prevalent Christian tradition, which may well have found its way to the ears of the Apostle of the Gentiles. If the narrative of the Transfiguration were in the mind of St. Paul, we must understand his meaning to be, that, just as the human personality of the Christian Founder was transfigured and glorified in his hour of prayer, so shall the human personality of his followers in every age be transmuted into his Divine likeness by that renewal of their minds which is the result of their second birth. Perhaps, too, there is in the mind of St. Paul the slightest touch of a polemical tendency when he contrasts the transfiguration of the Christ in the flesh with the transfiguring power of the Lord, the Spirit. Would it not seem as if he meant to imply that in the vision of the transfiguration glory, as in the vision of the resurrection miracle, though born in each case out of due time, he was not behind the very chiefest Apostle.

But let us resume. We have connected 2 Corinthians v. 17 with 2 Corinthians iii. 18. We have found the latter to be the sequel to the former, inasmuch as it reveals the agency by which the new birth is effected. But the sequence will appear also in another respect. In 2 Cor-

inthians v. 17, we have the description of the new birth as an instantaneous act; in Chapter iii. 18, we have a description of the life which follows the new birth as a gradual and progressive process. The latter verse reveals the development of that creation which the former verse regards as the immediate result of a Divine fiat. The gradual development is indicated in the expression, "from glory to glory"; which means that, just as light helps us to see light, so the acquisition of one glory makes the mind more able to attain another (Compare John i. 16, "Of his fulness have we all received, and grace on grace"). Where does the writer of the fourth Gospel get his conception of a grace which multiplies itself by the very fact of possessing it? Where does St. Paul get his conception of the bestowal of those divine gifts which are given to men in different proportions, but which, in all proportions, are capable of expanding "from glory to glory"? There is one passage in our Gospels which, if accepted as an authentic utterance of the Christian Founder, would at once reveal the germ of these later charisms; we mean Christ's parable of the talents. If the passage be genuine, He has Himself given us the moral of that parable and the design with which He spoke it. It was intended specially to reveal the fact that "to every one that hath shall be given" (St. Matt. xxv. 29). The talents are represented as divine endowments bestowed upon the servants of the Lord; and they are represented as bestowed when the Lord of the servants had become invisible; they are to be the product of an age when men shall no longer enjoy the outward presence of the Master, but shall require to be satisfied with the gifts which the Master will send. These gifts, or talents, are described as existing not purely for their own sake, but for the sake of what they will bring. The gifted man is required to trade upon his gift and to make something by it; the value of having is the fact that possession means increase, and

that unto him that hath shall be given. In the presence of this tradition we stand on the direct lines of the subsequent Pauline doctrine, that the process of assimilation between the new creature and the transfiguration vision it beholds is a development of the divine life "from glory to glory."

2 *Corinthians* v. 21.—"Him that knew no sin hath He made sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him." The point which first arrests us here is the categorical declaration of Christ's sinlessness: "Him that *knew no sin*." The allusion is made as one refers to a fact which is already recognized by those to whom he speaks. We have seen, in a previous Section, that, in the view of St. Paul, the Founder of Christianity was a sinless being; we need not therefore reiterate the point. We simply desire here to direct attention to two facts lying on the surface of this passage. The first is, that St. Paul is manifestly speaking of a historical Christ, as is proved by the past tense "*knew no sin*" (Compare St. John viii. 46 and xiv. 30). If the front clause of the verse is historical, we shall not be justified in giving to the remaining part of it a purely theological meaning. The second point to be noticed is, what we think we have pointed out before—that the historical fact alluded to is a miracle. Sinlessness, to St. Paul and to any Jew, would be a greater miracle than walking on the sea. It is true a sinless life was prophesied (Isaiah liii. 9); but, if a prodigy should occur, it will not be deemed less miraculous because it has been predicted. If, then, the words of St. Paul clearly imply the belief in a miracle, what is the apologetic inference? It is simply this, that the mythical theory of Strauss breaks down on the very threshold of Christianity. We have been told that the miracles of the Gospels are the gradual accumulation of legends around the name of Jesus of Nazareth

after his visible presence had been withdrawn, and when the idea of his personality had been sublimated by the halo of death. Here is incontestible evidence, not only that the first Christian age believed in the miraculous power of Christianity, but that the first Christian age believed Christianity itself to be a miracle. The moral life of the Christian Founder is recognized as one continuous violation of the experience of all human history; as a life without blemish and without spot. It is open to the mythical theory to reject the historical truth of this, as of every other, belief; but that it was the first belief of Christendom it is impossible for that theory to deny. The admission is itself a refutation of the mythical growth of the supernatural in Christianity.

We pass now to the next clause of the verse; and we are introduced to a paradox: this sinless being is *made sin*. Theologians have greatly weakened the force of the passage by translating the word "a sin-offering," in other words, a death-sacrifice. Of course we admit that St. Paul holds the death of Christ to be a sacrifice for sin; but that is not the prominent idea of the passage before us. It will, we think, be found throughout the New Testament, that even where the death of Christ is especially regarded as sacrificial, it is looked upon not as an isolated act, but as the culmination of a life-sacrifice, an obedience *unto* death. Hence in 1 Peter ii. 24 we read: "Who Himself bore our sins in his own body *to the tree*" (not *on* the tree as our version has it); the idea rather is that He has carried the sins of humanity on to the bitter end, until the sacrifice has been consummated by death. We must therefore seek for an explanation of St. Paul's words, not in a theological doctrine, but in the same historical sphere which is opened to us by the revelation of Christ's sinlessness in the first clause. Nor do we need to go out of the passage to find the key to St. Paul's meaning. When he says, "He hath made Him to be sin

for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him," he clearly means to state that Christ was made sin in the same way that we are made righteousness. How, then, are we made righteousness? By the contact *with* us of a force which originally was foreign *to* us. If we pursue this track we shall reach, not indeed the explanation of the mystery, but an indication of the spot where the mystery lies. Christ is made sin by coming into contact with a force of evil which is foreign to his nature—in other words, in being tempted. The Temptation, and not the Crucifixion, is the true key to the explanation of this Pauline mystery. For it must be remembered that the temptation of Christ, as it is recorded in our Gospels, is not so much the statement of a historical fact which once happened, as the declaration of a mental experience which was habitually present to his mind. We shall altogether misread our narratives if we suppose they mean to imply that the Christian Founder received only three temptations. They are themselves careful to guard against such an impression. They tell us, though it appears more in the Greek than in the English, that these three were but the typical forms of the temptations which the Son of Man had repeatedly to endure. Our English version itself suggests the same thought when it says that, after the temptations of the wilderness, "the devil left him *for a season*." The temptation of Christ is his sin-bearing, the beginning of that sacrifice which culminates in Calvary. The fact of being tempted is the proof of his generic union with humanity, and the evidence that through this union He is in contact with a force of evil which is foreign to his own pure soul.

Perhaps it may be thought that we have been reading into this Pauline passage the narrative of St. Matthew iv.; or, at all events, that we have been aided in arriving at its interpretation by our previous knowledge of that Evangelist's history. In reality it is not so. Although the

narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke had never existed, we should have been able to put this interpretation on St. Paul's language; for we can prove to a demonstration that, long before the close of the Apostolic age, the idea of a tempted Christ was in the air. We have a document which, by the large majority even of negative critics, is assigned to a date earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, and which even the most radical amongst them have not placed later than 81 A.D.; a document which is anterior to any of those writings ascribed to the apostolic Fathers, and which is distinctly quoted by the earliest of those Fathers in a letter to this very Church of Corinth. In this MS., which we do not here quote as authoritative but simply as illustrative of the early belief of Christendom, the fact of Christ's temptation is twice stated as something well known to the Christian Church (Heb. ii. 18; iv. 15). It will not be pretended that the writer to the Hebrews had any mythical motive in associating with the idea of temptation the name of the sinless Christ. The fact that he has so associated that name is the proof of a wide-spread Christian tradition. The Christ of the Epistle to the Hebrews is tempted in all things like as we are, yet without sin; the Christ of the Epistle to the Corinthians, is made sin for us though He knew no sin. Are not these conceptions one and the same?

2 *Corinthians* viii. 9: "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." The first point which strikes us here is the complete departure of St. Paul from the Messianic ideal of his countrymen. That Messianic ideal passed through several stages of development; but amidst these stages there are two phases which stand out prominently. The earlier conception of the Messiah is that of the conquering king, of one who restores the Jewish nation by subduing its

outward enemies. With the prophetic age of the later Isaiah there emerges a second Messianic conception; the Messiah is still contemplated as the king, but his kingdom is to be won, not by physical conquest, but by a life of service. He is first of all the holy servant of God, who keeps perfectly the commandments of the law; and then, as a reward for that service, he is exalted to a height of dazzling eminence and receives a kingdom which cannot be moved. It is in this latter phase that the Messianic idea approaches most nearly to the Pauline conception. The ideal of the Jewish nation is one who becomes Messiah by reason of a life of obedient service; he is enriched as the reward of his poverty. Yet it will at once be evident that, even in this stage, the Messianic idea is radically different from the Pauline conception. In the former case the greatness is given to him as a recompense for having observed the law through a life of privation; in the latter case the greatness lies in the voluntary assumption of the life of privation itself. In the former, the Divine grace is shewn in the exaltation of the servant into the Messiah; in the latter, the Divine grace is manifested in the stooping of the Messiah into the servant. The servant of God of Jewish prophecy is not the Messiah, but simply on the road to become the Messiah; the servant of God of St. Paul's Epistle is the Messiah in that very life of service for whose sake he has surrendered his pre-existent glory.

We need not say that such a conception as St. Paul here gives us is not one which could have been suggested to him by any mythical imagination derived from the traditions of his fathers. Judaism never reached higher than the idea that a sacrificial life might be rewarded by the exaltation into glory; it was unable to grasp the idea that the sacrificial life itself might be the emanation of an exalted glory stooping down to the wants of men. We cannot quote Philo-Judæus as an exception to this statement; for he

lived in the very blaze of that very atmosphere which St. Paul and the Apostles breathed. We must say in general terms that, with the dawn of Christianity, there is imported into the Messianic conception an element which not only is hitherto unseen there, but which is found to be the opposite of all the elements which that idea has as yet exhibited—we mean, the essential divinity of suffering.

If St. Paul is not drawing his conception of the Christ from any national imagination, as little does he derive it from any subjective fancy of his own mind. “Ye *know* the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ”; he appeals to a common Christian consciousness upon a subject which he holds to be historical. He speaks of the Christian Founder by his human name, and thereby clearly suggests that he is recalling an experience of history. What, then, is this poverty which the Apostle beholds in the Master? It is clear that to one who entertained so exalted a view of Christ’s pre-existent glory as St. Paul did, any earthly condition, even the most sumptuous and regal, would have been deemed an experience of poverty to the Christian Founder. The mere fact, therefore, of saying that Christ became poor would not in itself imply more than the declaration that He became incarnate. When we take into account, however, that the Apostle’s mind is dwelling on the historical Jesus, and when we remember that this Epistle to the Corinthians deals specially with such practical matters as the supply of human necessities, we shall be warranted in concluding that the poverty which St. Paul attributes to Christ was intended to mark the lowliness of his human circumstances. The word here translated “poor,” is in St. Luke xvi. 22 rendered “beggar.” If we adopt this rendering here, it would indicate that the Christian Founder threw Himself upon the kindly sympathies of others, and was supported throughout his earthly ministry by the sustenance which He chose to accept from the love and the devotion of

his followers—a picture which would in every respect correspond with the Christ portrayed in our Gospels. Though descended from the lineage of David, the Founder of Christianity is represented as one of those who was not clothed in the world's purple and fine raiment. In St. Luke ii. 24, we gather inferentially that his parents were poor, for they present that offering which the poor among the children of Israel were allowed to substitute for the common and costlier gift. In St. Matthew xvii. 27, we learn that He Himself was poor, for He there adopts a method of discharging a small debt, or tax, which would not probably have been adopted by one in easy circumstances. If it be thought, however, that the direction to seek the stater in the fish's mouth had its ground in a moral purpose rather than a physical necessity, we have still the remarkable utterance put into his lips by two Evangelists: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" (St. Matthew viii. 20; St. Luke ix. 58)—an utterance all the more remarkable because it expresses the true spirit of the Pauline contrast between the native riches and the unnatural poverty. The inevitable effect of such a portraiture is to suggest to the mind how overwhelming must have been the impression produced by the personal life of Jesus of Nazareth.

2 *Corinthians* x. 1.—"Now I, Paul, myself beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ." These words give us a glimpse into the character of the Christian Founder as it was understood by St. Paul. The attributes of meekness and gentleness may be taken as marking respectively the passive and the active side of that character. The meekness implies a power to bear without murmuring; the gentleness implies a power to act without violence. In each of these aspects the lineaments of the Pauline

portraiture are reflected by our Gospels. The Christian Founder is there represented as declaring Himself to be meek and lowly in heart, and as declaring Himself to be so on the ground that He is able, uncomplainingly, to sustain that yoke which He asks his followers to share. The gentleness is the prominent characteristic of all the deeds of his active ministry ; it runs through every act, it permeates every tone. Indeed, the two elements of meekness and gentleness are capable of being expressed in one thought—self-restraint ; and that is the thought which, from the human side, forms the most distinguishing feature of the Christ whom our Gospels portray. The author of *Ecce Homo*, who professedly approaches the subject from this point of view, has recorded his impression that the Christ delineated in our Gospels is distinguished by his restraint of power. We feel, instinctively, that the impression is true. Throughout the Evangelical narratives we are perpetually confronted by the spectacle of One who restrains the might of the forces that lie within Him. We find an habitual reserve alike of word and deed. The miraculous gift which is imputed to Him is not flaunted in the eyes of his followers ; it is held in check, to await the natural manifestations of the human consciousness. The sign is not given to an evil and adulterous generation ; the miracle is not wrought for those who have not faith to receive it. The Son of Man seems to prefer those methods of working which are familiar to the sons of men. The result upon the mind of the reader is that impression of meekness, and gentleness that sense of the power to restrain power, which the life of the Christian Founder made upon the mind of St. Paul. Whether St. Paul derived it from the same historical facts we are not yet called upon to say ; but we are at all events entitled to say that he must have derived it from historical facts analogous in character and identical in import. That history, which produced in St. Paul the impression of the

meek and gentle Jesus, cannot in its essential features be dissimilar to the history which has imprinted on our hearts the portrait of Him who meekly bore the yoke of humanity.

2 *Corinthians* xii. 8.—“For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And He said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness.” It has been pointed out by an eminent writer that these words powerfully suggest the scene in the garden of Gethsemane, and seem, on the part of St. Paul, to indicate a knowledge of that scene. In both cases we see a soul burdened by the pressure of a great calamity. In both, the remedy is prayer. In both, the prayer is thrice repeated. In both, the answer received is of the same description. The prayer is not answered by the removal of the calamity; but, in each case, it is answered by the impartation of a fresh power to bear the calamity. The Master receives the ministry of strengthening angels; the Disciple receives the promise, “My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness.” It seems to us that it is possible to find here something more than a suggestion. The words “My strength is made perfect in weakness” are put into the mouth of the Christian Founder. Are they not intended to describe a life-experience of the Son of Man? Do they not really mean this? “In order to answer your prayer, I do not need to remove your calamity; I have only to give you strength to bear it. My reason for knowing this is my personal experience of your human nature; my own strength has been perfected, not by the act of transcending human weakness, but in the very act of experiencing that weakness: I can judge the law of your humanity by my knowledge of the law of that spirit of life which regulated my own.”

If this view be adopted, it will give us not simply an analogy, but a highly probable reference to the garden of

Gethsemane. Be this as it may, the revelation which St. Paul here professes to have received from Christ is in strict consistency and harmony with that revelation of Christ which our Gospels profess to yield. He is emphatically brought before us as one who calls to Himself the labouring and heavy-laden, and offers them the rest of his own soul; yet who, at the same time, is careful to tell them that He will confer that rest, not by removing the yoke of their calamity, but by giving them a power of love which will make the yoke easy and render the burden light. His own rest has been reached by that meekness and lowliness of heart which stoops to a Father's will; and He holds out to his disciples the promise of a strength which shall be perfected in the same weakness: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me."

2 *Corinthians* xiii. 14.—"The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all." In these words St. Paul has completely transcended the fundamental conception of his nation. He has given utterance to a thought which he never could have derived from any mythical imagination suggested by his Jewish nationality. The fundamental idea of Judaism, while it remained untouched by Gentile influences, was the unity of God; He was the self-existent, self-sufficing, incommunicable Jehovah. It is true that, as Judaism came into contact with the Hellenic spirit, there began to appear a break in its rigid conception of the Divine unity; and the ideas of the "Word" and "Wisdom" of God came to stand for separate manifestations of the life of God. Men began to see distinctions in that essence which they had hitherto believed to be an inseparable unity. But, even in its later stages, Judaism was true to itself. It never would have occurred to the Jewish mind that an individual man, who had lived an actual life in history, could be made

partaker of the essential nature of the Deity. We may admit, though it is very questionable, that the Logos of Philo was a personal being, dwelling in the heart of the Divine Life ; but, however personal He may have been, He was not a man who had ever lived in history. Philo himself did not offer him to the world as an actual historical personage, but, at best, only as an ideal personality who had dwelt for ever behind the veil of history. Here, however, is a conception of St. Paul, and which St. Paul evidently shares with the Christian community, in which we see an essential revolt from Judaism in all its forms. It is not simply that the *unity* has become a *trinity*; that, as we have said, might be accounted for on principles of historical development. But the new point in relation to Judaism consists in this : that one of the persons of the Trinity is a man who had actually lived on earth, a son of Adam, a member of that Jewish race which had always emphasized the immeasurable nature of the distance which separates the creature from the Creator. Beside the great Jehovah whom Judaism had feared to name, and beside that divine Spirit whose workings had been mysterious even to the prophets whom it inspired, St. Paul is not afraid to place the name of the historical Jesus ; nay, is not afraid to mention his name first of the three. We have grown so familiar with the rhythm of the formula that we are apt to forget the paradox it must have involved to every Jewish mind. Before the burning blaze of the Divine purity even the Law-giver had been commanded to put the shoes from off his feet, and remember his unworthiness to stand on holy ground. Here is a man who five and twenty years before had been seen going in and out amongst his fellow-beings, sharing in their common toil, wearing their human frailty, walking their daily course of suffering and of duty ; yet this man, at the close of these five and twenty years, is spoken of by one of the leading Apostles of the primitive Church in the same

breath with the eternal Jehovah and the life of the Divine Spirit; and so spoken of in a way which shews the belief of that Apostle to have been an article of faith in the community amongst whom he laboured. The paradox is only another proof how boundless must have been the impression produced by the life of the Christian Founder, and how impossible it is to account for the construction of that Life on any mythical principle of New Testament interpretation.

G. MATHESON.

*MICAH'S PROPHECY OF THE BABYLONIAN
CAPTIVITY.*

MICAH iv. 10.¹

THERE are few more difficult chapters in the prophetic writings than that of which this passage forms a part. It is so full of abrupt transitions and seemingly inconsistent expressions that one is tempted to give up critical exegesis in despair, and fall back on the old-fashioned view that the Scriptures in general and the prophecies in particular are a congeries of isolated texts without any logical connexion. The key to the Chapter is supplied by Stade's remark that Verse 11 is the continuation not of Verses 9, 10, but of Verses 1-4. The ideal picture traced in those verses belongs to the future; but "now" (render iv. 11, "but now" etc.) a host of enemies is gathered together against Jerusalem—strange contrast to the idyllic description which opens the prophecy! Verses 5-10 ought to be bracketed;

¹ "Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a women in travail; for now shalt thou go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell in the field, and thou shalt go even to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there Jehovah shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies."

probably (as Stade has shewn ¹) they did not belong to the original draft of the Chapter. It would be presumptuous to pronounce too positively as to the date and authorship of this supplementary passage. We may, if we please, ascribe it to the Soferim, those industrious and gifted students and editors of the prophecies, who, with a younger son's portion of the Spirit, connected together and filled up the somewhat fragmentary records of antiquity. But it is also not impossible to refer it to Micah himself, who may be conceived of as adding it by an after-thought, to represent a subsequent revelation (comp. Isa. xxxix. 6 ²), just as Isaiah appears to have obscured the original meaning of some of his prophecies by introducing allusions to subsequent circumstances.

And now let us take Verses 5-10 by themselves. Verse 5 is evidently inserted to prepare the way for the sequel. Verses 6, 7 and Verses 8-10 form two little oracles by themselves. Their import is the same. It seems as if the writer felt that the former little prophecy was too vague, and so he appended the more precise revelation in Verses 8-10. The first point insisted upon is that "the first dominion" shall return to Jerusalem, *i.e.*, the kingdom of David shall be restored. Then a strange and sudden transition occurs. The prophet speaks as if Jerusalem were being besieged; nay, more, as if it were already captured, and its inhabitants giving way to unmanly lamentations. He has therefore changed his point of view. He is no longer thinking of the coming golden age; nor yet has he returned to the actual present. Rather he is midway between the two. He sees the melancholy interval, during which Judah is

¹ See Prof. Stade's article on the Book of Micah, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1881, pp. 161-171.

² The present writer, however, for reasons explained in his Commentary, doubts whether it is a tenable view that Isa. xxxix. was really written by Isaiah, and accurately reproduces his prophecy.

to be driven into exile ; and he describes the various stages of the calamity—first, the going out of the city ; then, the dwelling in the open country, houseless and unprotected ; and lastly, the coming to Babylon, the scene of captivity. This last feature of the description has given rise to much discussion.

According to Verse 6, it was Assyria, and not Babylonia, which Micah regarded as the last great foe of Israel ; why, then, should the threat take this form, “ Thou shalt go even to Babylon.” It should be remembered that the earlier kingdom of Babylon had been conquered by Tiglath-Pileser ; that Merodach-Baladan’s brave attempts to obtain an independent position were fruitless ; and that Babylon only became the seat of a great empire a century later. The reply which has been offered to this objection is twofold : (1) that Babylon is here mentioned only as a province of the Assyrian Empire ; and (2) that, according to 2 Kings xvii. 24 (confirmed by the Annals of Sargon), Sargon transported a part of the rebellious population of Babylonia to N. Israel, which we may safely presume that he replaced by captive Israelites ; and that this was a sufficient warrant to Micah for warning his countrymen of Judah to expect a like fate. This is no doubt an ingenious reply ; and yet is it not clear to an unprejudiced eye that Babylon is here mentioned as the seat of the great imperial power (the world-empire, as our Germanizing writers call it), and not as a mere provincial capital ? A still more serious objection remains, viz., that Verse 12 appears to give a directly opposite statement to Verse 10. We are there told that the hostile nations have been brought to Jerusalem for no other reason than that they may be destroyed within sight of their coveted prey. We must not explain away this inconsistency, and are forced to assume either that these words, “ and thou shalt go even to Babylon,” are (together with the rest of Verses 5–10) the interpolation of a later

editor of the prophetic writings, who overlooked or misunderstood Verse 12, or else that they represent a subsequent revelation received by Micah himself. The former view is no doubt likely to be regarded with great suspicion by elder Biblical students, who are accustomed to assume that Providence has so jealously guarded the integrity of the Scriptures that alterations in their original form are absolutely inconceivable. But we must remember that "the permanent function of the Old Testament for Christians is simply to point to Jesus Christ as the Saviour both of Jew and of Gentile, and that no superficial changes of the text are of any religious importance which leave the performance of this function unimpaired." It is quite certain that the early Jewish students of Micah were pre-occupied with the idea that the Babylonian Captivity must be discoverable in the passage under consideration. One of them (doubtless representing the current exegetical tradition) has introduced, with a freedom reminding us of the Targums, words distinctly referring to this captivity, into the early Greek version of Chapter iv. 8, the latter part of which now runs, *καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πρώτη, βασιλεία ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ*. It is no disrespect to these early editors and paraphrasts to say that the words which they have inserted are not in harmony with the original meaning of the passage, as elicited by a careful study of the context. For (as Abraham Geiger, that prince of Jewish scholars, has abundantly shewn) they regarded the Bible as having an ever fresh meaning, to be discovered by a thoughtful regard to the wants of each succeeding age; they held in fact a doctrine of "development." In a certain sense, indeed, this prophecy *was* fulfilled in the Babylonian Captivity; for the words of Micah are too high and grand to suit the circumstances of Jerusalem in the days of the prophet. "Whether it be for the repentance of Hezekiah, or for any other reason known

only to God, Jerusalem was not suffered to come to such extremities as the Prophet describes, and consequently the Divine interposition was not so striking and unique."

Still, as has been remarked above, the other view, viz., that Micah himself inserted either Verses 5-10 as a whole, or at least the clause "and thou shalt go even to Babylon," by an after-thought, when he revised and worked up the first rough notes of his discourse, is perfectly tenable. Which solution is to be preferred, depends upon the results of a general survey of the text of the prophetic writings, which not one Biblical student in a hundred is qualified to make. It will be some gain, however, if students friendly to criticism will accustom themselves to the idea of the *growth* of prophetic discourses, and to inclose later insertions in brackets when they can be so clearly made out as in the present Chapter. If, in short, the student will read as a continuous passage, Micah iv. 1-4, 11-13, v. 1-4, 7-15, he will obtain a much clearer view of the original sense of the prophecy. It will not be of much use to study the section in its present form, until he has done this; and to comment on the text will be only to "darken counsel by words without knowledge."

T. K. CHEYNE.

BRIEF NOTICES.

SCIENTIFIC SOPHISMS: A Review of Current Theories concerning Atoms, Apes, and Men, by *Samuel Wainwright, D.D.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), is a bright clever little book, in which Messrs. Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall, etc., are set to cut their own or one another's throats. It plays a little too much perhaps on the surface of the profound questions with which it deals: but as the scepticism of the day is mainly superficial, and will not stand to bear any very grave or solid refutation of its doubts, a light superficial answer may be the more effectual with most. The young or busy men who have simply caught up certain catchwords from the works, or from public talk about the works, of certain popular men of science, may be wholesomely impressed by being shewn that these catchwords are mere sophisms, or ludicrously inexact and inadequate statements of admitted facts. By an ingenious mosaic of quotations drawn from the writings of the popular philosophers of the day, Dr. Wainwright makes them contradict themselves and one another all round, and thus raises a laugh which is not unlikely to clear the air of many of the floating infections with which it is loaded. It is a book likely to be useful to young men; but those who would see the subject thoroughly and philosophically handled should read *Modern Realism Examined* by the late Professor Herbert.

Many of our readers will be glad to see that the second volume of GODET'S COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS, translated by *Mr. Cusins*, of Edinburgh, is included in this year's issue of Messrs. T. & T. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. This very able and helpful work was characterised in the last volume of the *First Series* of this Magazine; and I need only now add to what was then said that Dr. Godet's exegesis is often very suggestive and picturesque. Take, for instance, the following specimen from his notes on Romans viii. 18, 19: "The term λογίζομαι, *I reckon*, here signifies: 'I judge after calculation made.' The expressions which follow imply, indeed, the idea of a calculation. The adjective ἀξίως, *worthy*, comes, as the old lexicographers say, from the verb ἄγω, *to drive, to cause to move*, and denotes strictly a thing which is heavy enough to produce motion in the scale of the balancé. The

preposition *πρός* is used here, as frequently, to denote proportion. Consequently, the Apostle means that when he compares the miseries imposed upon him by the present state of things with the glory awaiting him in the future, he does not find that the former can be of any weight whatever in the balance of his resolutions. Why does he use the first person singular, *I reckon*, instead of speaking in the name of all Christians? No doubt because he would have them verify his calculation themselves, each making it over again for himself. . . . The Greek term which we translate by the word *expectation* is one of those admirable words which the Greek language easily forms. It is composed of three elements: *κῆρα*, the head; *δοκέω*, *δοκάω*, *δοκεύω*, to wait for, espy; and *ἀπό*, from, from afar; so: 'to wait with the head raised, and the eye fixed on that point of the horizon from which the expected object is to come.' What a plastic representation! An artist might make a statue of Hope out of this Greek term. The verb *ἀπεκδέχεται*, which we translate by *longeth for*, is not less remarkable; it is composed of the simple verb *δέχομαι*, to receive, and two prepositions: *ἐκ*, out of the hands of, and *ἀπό*, from, from afar; so: 'to receive something from the hands of one who extends it to you from afar.' This substantive and verb together vividly describe the attitude of the suffering creation, which in its entirety turns as it were an impatient look to the expected future."

THE FALSE PROPHET OF THE APOCALYPSE.

THE history of the Apocalypse as a canonical book is very singular. There is no book which has been tortured into meanings so widely and irreconcilably diverse; no book which has been so extravagantly exalted above all the rest of Scripture; no book which has, on the other hand, been so absolutely discredited, and so sweepingly condemned. Even in the most advanced schools of modern criticism it has given rise to conflicting theories. Some eagerly claim it as the work of St. John, in order that by its help they may prove that the Gospel is a forgery; others, who still hold to the Johannine authorship of the Gospel, declare it to be impossible that the Apocalypse could have proceeded from the same pen. Others, again, have not only satisfied themselves that neither the Gospel nor the Apocalypse were written by the Apostle, but now confidently announce that all the legends and traditions of his later years are pure invention: that Irenæus, in recounting his reminiscences of Polycarp, confuses John the Beloved Disciple with John the Presbyter; that if the Apostle did not suffer a comparatively early martyrdom at the hands of the Jews—as is asserted in a recently discovered passage of Georgius Hamartolos, a writer of the ninth century, on the supposed authority of Papias—at any rate Ephesus and Patmos knew him not, and he never so much as set foot in Proconsular Asia at all.

This is not the place to examine theories which do but illustrate the extravagant credulity of a criticism which builds its entire system upon the most fantastic bases of conjecture, while it ignores the plainest evidence of fact.

But it will, I think, be admitted that a sane and historical explanation of this beautiful and marvellous Vision is essential to its secure establishment in the veneration of all Christians. Many readers now neglect it from the perplexity induced by endless comments, of which ninety-nine out of a hundred must be even grotesquely false. Others turn away from a book which has been converted into an arsenal of weapons for the fierce warfare of Christians against Christians. Others, again, are offended to see the science of exegesis dragged through the mire, and predictions made on its authority to the anxious and timid ignorance of incompetent enquiry, but laughed to scorn by the logic of events. In my last paper I ventured to surmise that the day was now rapidly approaching when the symbolic chapters of the Apocalypse would be thoroughly understood, and it would be universally acknowledged to be—what it professes to be—a sketch of contemporary history, and of the anticipations to which the sixth decade of the First Century gave rise. We shall then see in it the tremendous counter-manifesto of a Christian seer against the bloodstained triumph of Imperial heathendom; a pæan and a prophecy over the ashes of the martyrs; the “thundering reverberation of a mighty spirit” struck by the fierce plectrum of the Neronian persecution, and answering in stormy music which, like many of David’s Psalms, dies away into the language of rapturous hope.

But before I enter on the *special* difficulty which, in the following paper, I propose to consider, if not to elucidate, it is desirable on many grounds that we should realize the urgent necessity which there is for a due appreciation and sane exegesis of this book. Without here entering into the question of its authenticity, I will content myself with expressing my own unshaken conviction that it is, as it professes to be, the work of John, and that the John who wrote it was not the “nebulous presbyter,” but the

bosom Apostle, the son of Zebedee, the disciple whom Jesus loved.

But, if such be the case, it may well be thought surprising that so persistently, and from such early days, and in spite of the divine beauty of many of its visions and the infinite preciousness of its promises and consolations, the book should yet have been spoken of by some Christians with hesitating acceptance, by others with positive aversion, and by a few with something even approaching to contempt.

The first note of dislike comes from the Alogi, the heretics who denied St. John's doctrine of the Logos. "What have we to do," they asked "with a book which talks about seven trumpets and seven angels, and a Church in Thyatira when there is no Church there?" Strangely enough, they attributed the Apocalypse to Cerinthus, the carnally minded heretic who, above all others, was most severely condemned by St. John,¹ and against whom, according to tradition, his most serious teaching was directed. This view, however, extraordinary as it is, was adopted by the Presbyter Gaius, (A.D. 250). Writing against the Montanists, he speaks of the "Revelations," which Cerinthus pretended to have been written by a great Apostle, and in which he falsely introduced narrations of prodigies,² as if they were shewn him by angels, saying that the kingdom of Christ after the Resurrection was an earthly kingdom, and implying a reign of mere sensuous felicity for a thousand years in Jerusalem. Thus early, then, we trace a feeling of dislike to the Apocalypse because of its chiliasm and its imagery. Both of these stumbling blocks would have been removed if only it had been borne steadily in mind that the laws of Apocalyptic literature were perfectly well understood, and that they necessitated the adoption of symbols which,

¹ φιλοσώματος ὢν καὶ πανὶ σαρκικός. Dion. Alex. ap Euseb., *H.E.*, vii. 25.

² τερατολογίας... ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, Euseb., *H.E.*, iii. 28. It has been suggested as possible that Gaius is thinking of some forged Apocalypses.

whether crude or not, belonged essentially to a particular cycle of Jewish literature. Still these peculiarities created a prejudice sufficiently strong to exclude the book from public reading in the Churches, and to cast on its authority a shade of discredit. St. Cyril of Jerusalem seems to put it on a lower level than other canonical books. It is not found in the Peshito version. It is omitted in the Canon of the Council of Laodicea in the fourth century. Eusebius seems uncertain about it, and did not include it in the copies of the Bible which he prepared by order of Constantine for the Churches of Constantinople, in A.D. 332. Gregory of Nazianzus mentions the doubts as to its authenticity. Theodore of Mopsuestia never quotes it. Theodoret alludes to it very sparingly. St. Chrysostom does not use it. Nicephorus even in the ninth century, omits it from his canon. In the Greek Church it was read, but any attempt to comment upon it in the pulpit was regarded with suspicion and dislike. It is altogether omitted in more than one ancient MS. (*e.g.*, A.C.) and down to the age of the Reformation the commentaries upon it are few in number.¹ The earliest is by Victorinus of Pettau, A.D. 270.

Side by side with dogmatic objections to the Apocalypse from the abuse to which it was subjected by chiliasts and others, a critical assault upon it was made as early as the third century by the eminent and learned Dionysius of Alexandria. He cannot believe that the John who wrote it was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. In a very remarkable specimen of ancient criticism he says that its character, its language, and its general construction disincline him to

¹ On the other hand, Justin Martyr (*Dial c. Tryph.*) accepts its authenticity, and, according to Eusebius, Melito of Sardis wrote on it. Two Cappadocian Bishops, Andreas and Arethas, in the fifth century, say that Papias accepted it, though on this point Eusebius is (perhaps purposely) silent. Irenæus (*Hær.*, iv. 20, § 11), the Churches of Lyons and Vienna, Tertullian (*c. Marc.*, iii. 16), and Ephraem Syrus, also accept it, and it is mentioned in the Muratorian Canon.

accept the Apostolic authorship. It was the habit of St. John to hide his individuality; here he obtrudes it. The Apocalypse does not deal in the same fundamental and abstract conceptions as St. John's other writings. There is no reference to it in those writings, and it has not so much as a syllable in common with them.¹ The style of the Gospel and Epistles is admirable, shewing the spiritual gifts alike of knowledge and of expression, but the Apocalypse contains barbarisms and even positive solecisms.² He therefore thinks that it was written by some other John. He confesses his inability to understand it, but attributes this inability to the depth and height of the book, which are beyond his reach.³

Commentaries on the Apocalypse are rare among the Fathers, but the general method of interpretation which they indicate is partly historical and partly allegoric. It was during the Middle Ages that the bad system began of making the Apocalypse refer to contemporary sects and heresies, by trying to torture it into an enigmatic prophecy of seven epochs of church history. Innocent III. regarded the Saracens as Antichrist, and Mohammed as the false prophet. At a later period Papal Rome was identified with the Scarlet Woman, and the Pope with Antichrist, while at the Reformation the Roman Catholics retorted by identifying Luther with the Beast.⁴ Such methods of interpretation involved chronological conjectures which, in every instance, time has rendered futile. It was the sense of discredit which thus began gradually to attach to the book

¹ This assertion of the learned Patriarch is quite untenable.

² Among the most startling (which it is vain to explain away as Winer tries to do) are i. 16, ii. 14, iii. 12, vi. 9, 10, vii. 9, xii. 5, xiv. 19, xvii. 4, xxi. 21.

³ *Ap. Euseb., H. E., v., § 11*, § 24. He professes to follow earlier authorities who, he says, "utterly rejected and confuted the book, criticising every chapter, shewing it to be throughout unintelligible and inconsistent."

⁴ Pastorini explains the Fifth Trumpet, of the Reformation, and identifies Luther with the star falling from heaven.

that drove Hengstenberg in despair to the strange exegesis which regards the prophecy as completely fulfilled by accepting the Middle Ages as the millennial reign of Christ, the Reformation period as the letting loose of the devil, and modern socialism as the gathering of the forces of Gog and Magog.

In spite, however, of the controversial use which might have been made of the Revelation, many of the Reformers were unfavourably disposed towards it. Erasmus doubts its authenticity. Calvin and Beza did not allow their preachers to explain it in the pulpit. Scaliger thought unfavourably of it. Zwingli did not regard it as "Biblical," and would not accept texts drawn from it. Luther himself said that much was wanting in it to let him deem it either prophetic or Apostolical, and that he could discover no trace that it is established of the Holy Ghost.¹ Œcolampadius, Bucer, Carlstadt, and others, had similar doubts.

This prejudice of the Reformers arose partly from the exclusive value which they attached to the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and partly because they had never succeeded in grasping the true key to a wise and safe solution of St. John's Vision. In later times also many have spoken of it with a certain irritation, due not only to the Hellenism which disliked its Judaic form and special imagery, but also to its enigmatic character, and to the discredit which it has undergone at the hands of rash, uncharitable, and half-educated interpreters. Goethe writes to Lavater, that being a man of the earth, earthy, the parables of Christ appear to him more Divine ("if," he adds, "there be aught Divine

¹ Preface of 1522. His objections were: 1. that a book full of such visions is unapostolic; 2. that it resembles nothing in the New Testament, but is more like 4 Esdras; 3. that it is "far too arrogant in the writer to enjoin this book upon his readers as of more importance than any other sacred book;" 4. no one understands it; "it is believed in as though we had it not;" 5. "my spirit cannot adapt itself to the production;" 6. "Christ is neither taught nor perceived in it." It is needless to point out the rash tone of assertion in these remarks.

about the matter") "than the seven messengers, candlesticks, seals, stars, and woes." Schleiermacher, representing it as full of "universal plagues represented under sensuous images," considered that even a correct interpretation of the book would be productive of but little profit. The Tübingen school in general regard it as a product of Ebionising rigour and Judaic narrow-mindedness. It has become the fashion of many modern critics to speak of it with marked disrespect, as being clumsy and unoriginal in form, harsh in style, contracted in sympathies, material in its expectations, and sanguinary in its spirit.

And if indeed the Apocalypse were the kind of treatise which it has become in the hands of controversial manipulators—if it were assumed to be a compendium of anticipated Church history, echoing the most vehement anathemas of sectarian hatred, and yet shrouded in such thick veils of ambiguity that every successive interpreter has a new scheme for its elucidation—if it were a book in which Protestants only could take a fierce delight because it feeds fat the intensest spirit of denunciation against the errors of a sister Church—then it might be excusable if the spirits of those who "seek peace and ensue it," and who look on brotherly love among Christians as the crown of virtue, should turn away from it with a sense of perplexity and weariness. They would not gain much comfort and edification from pulpits in which—

"A loud-tongued pulpiteer,
Not preaching simple Christ to simple men,
Announced the coming doom, and fulminated
Against the Scarlet Woman and her creed.
For sideways up he swung his arms, and shrieked
'Thus, thus, with violence'—even as if he held
The Apocalyptic millstone, and himself
Were that great angel—'thus with violence
Shall Babylon be cast into the sea:—
Then comes the close.'"

There are few men who would find music in such "loud-lunged Antibabylonianisms" as these. They would at any rate prefer to turn aside from such threats of doom on their brother Christians and dwell with deeper pleasure on visions of which the spiritual loveliness and consolation shines through the material images employed to depict them. But when we put ourselves in the position of the Seer, when grasping the now *certain* clue to his meaning which is furnished us in the deciphering of the number of the beast, we accept his own positive and repeated assurance¹ that he is dealing with events which have recently happened, and are now going on around him, or which should issue as the immediate sequence from that near past and that immediate present; when, lastly, we discount as it were (exactly as every contemporary reader would have discounted) the hyperboles of Oriental symbolism, then we begin to understand what the Apocalypse was to those who first read it, and to whom it was directly addressed. Then for the first time we begin to understand its passion and its grandeur; then we see in it as Milton saw, "the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a sevenfold chorus of Hallelujahs and harping symphonies."

It may, we should think, be assumed that the Apocalypse was *meant* to be understood. But it would most assuredly have not been understood had it been intended to depict, in vague, symbols which (if such theories were true) have proved so universally unintelligible, the Saracen conquests, the French Revolution, and the rise of Tractarianism. If any think that they can thus use the book with edification, peace be with them! but let them at least admit that the study of the rise of Islam and the growth of Tractarianism could have been but little profitable to the Asiatics, who

¹ Rev. i. 3; xxii. 10: "The time is at hand." Rev. i. 1; xxii. 6: "the things that must *shortly* come to pass." Rev. ii. 5, 16; iii. 2; xi. 14; xxii. 7, 12, 20.

would have had (in that case) as little conception of what was intended as the majority of Christians in all ages since. This much may most cheerfully be conceded to expositors of this school—that all Prophecy has “springing and germinal developments;” that Scripture furnishes us again and again, not indeed with the details of events yet future, but with the *principles* of a divine philosophy of history; that, by holding up the crystal mirror of revelation to the Past, we may be enabled also to understand the Present and the Future. It is only when we contemplate the Apocalypse in the light of the Neronian persecution and the Jewish war that it rolls with all its storms and burns with its intensest fire. Over the guilt of Jerusalem, over the guilt of Rome, it hurls the prophecy of inevitable doom. Around the diadem of Nero and the hydra-heads of Paganism in its hour of tyranny and triumph, it flashes the divine lightning of retribution. It is the thunderous defiance, uttered by Christianity for all time, against the tortures, the legions, and the amphitheatres of heathendom. Such is the passionate intensity with which the Seer, even at that hour of seeming ruin and terror and desolation, pours forth the language of inextinguishable hope, that it seems as though the hand which he had dipped in the blood of the martyrs flamed like a torch as he uplifts it to the avenging heaven. And since the truths which he utters become needful at every recurrence of similar crises, the Apocalypse has ever been dearest to the Church in the hours of her deepest need, and has helped to inspire her courage and to keep alive her faith. If we see that its primary import was to emphasize, with all the resources of prophetic symbolism, the great eschatological discourse which St. John had heard his Lord deliver on Olivet,¹

¹ Abauzit, in his *Essai sur l'Apocalypse*, is, according to Lücke, the first who made the pregnant suggestion that the Revelation is “Une extension de la prophétie du Sauveur sur la Ruine de l'Etat Judaïque.”

and in which He had with perfect distinctness prophesied that He should come again, and that the *Æon* should close and the Messianic kingdom begin, before that generation had wholly passed away,¹ then, and not till then, can we without exegetical extravagance give it what further developments may seem admissible, and regard it in the language of Herder, as "a picture book, setting forth the rise, the visible existence, and the (general) future of Christ's kingdom in figures and similitudes of his first Coming, to terrify and to console."

That the vision had its starting-point in contemporary history was known by early tradition to the Fathers,² who were even aware that the Wild Beast from the sea who has been wounded but should, in symbol if not in very reality, return again—as was widely expected, both then and five centuries later, was no other than the Emperor Nero.³ After this *historical* interpretation—the only one which can save the Apocalypse from being the prey of theological hatred and chiliastic fanaticism—had been mostly forgotten, and after every conceivable variety of false method had been tentatively applied in vain, the true path was once more partially opened by the good sense and erudition of Grotius, and widened by the genius of Herder.⁴ The consensus of all

¹ St. Matt. xxiv. 34.

² In my last paper, "the Number of the Beast," I mentioned the two interpretations—*Lateinos* and *Teitan*—which are given by Irenæus, and shewed that they both point to Nero. No doubt some breath of the true tradition had come down to Irenæus from the days of St. John. I have there endeavoured to indicate the causes why his solution was not more exact.

³ Tac., *Hist.*, i. 2; ii. 8, 9. Suet., *Ner.*, xl., lvii. Dion Cass., lxiv. 9. Sulp. Sev., *Hist. Sacr.*, ii. 28. Lactant., *De Mort. Persec.*, 2. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 19. Jerome in Dan. xi. 28. Chrysost. in 2 Thess. ii. Sibyll. iv. 116 sq., viii. 1-216, etc.

⁴ Grotius was hampered by the mistaken notion that the solution has to be sought in the days of Trajan. Herder's *Maranata, Es kommt der Herr* (Weimar, 1779) shewed with wonderful power and genius that the book was intended to represent the victory of Christ over all enemies, alike Jewish and Pagan. Ewald, in his *Commentarius* (1828), followed the same general line. Züllich, in 1835, was led astray by applying the book almost exclusively to

the keenest and ablest modern criticism in interpreting the number of the Beast by the Hebrew name of *Neron Kesar* furnishes a clue which it is hoped can never again be abandoned, and by means of which we are enabled to thread our way in safety through the mazes of a book which has proved to be to so many a dangerous labyrinth.

II. But if Nero be the Wild Beast from the sea, who is the Wild Beast from the land? If Nero be, in the parallel passages, the death-wounded yet slain *head* of the Beast, who is the False Prophet that wrought the signs before him?

Our great difficulty in answering this question rises from the fact that not the lightest breath of tradition upon the subject has been preserved in the first two centuries, and that the earliest suggestion is furnished by Victorinus at the close of the third. All commentators alike, Præterist, Futurist, Continuous, Historical, Allegorical, with all their subdivisions, have here been reduced to manifest perplexity, and have been forced to content themselves with explanations which violate one or more of the indications given us.

What are those indications?

They are mainly given in Revelation xiii. 11-17, and are as follows:—

1. I saw another wild beast coming up out of the earth (or “land”).

2. And he had two horns like unto a lamb.

3. And he spake as a dragon.

4. And he exerciseth all the authority of the first beast in his sight.

5. And he maketh the earth (or “land”) to worship the first beast whose death-stroke was healed.

Jerusalem, as is done by the able anonymous author of “*The Parousia*” (1878). Bieek, and others of the Schleiermacher school, have also firmly taken this line of exegesis, and since the discovery of the Number of the Beast by five or six almost contemporary enquirers (Volkmar, Reuss, Renary, Hitzig, Fritsche, etc.) in 1836, the reactionary methods of Lange, Ebrard, Elliott, etc., have had but little weight.

6. And he doeth great signs which it was given him to do in the sight of the beast, that he should even make fire to come down from heaven upon the earth (or "land") by reason of the signs which it was given him to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth (or "land") that they should make an image to the beast who hath the stroke of the sword and lived.

7. He gives breath to the image of the beast, and maketh it speak.

8. He causes the execution of those who will not worship the image of the beast.

9. He makes men of all ranks and classes receive a stamp on their right hand or their forehead.

10. He prevents all who have not the mark of the beast (his name and the number of his name) from buying and selling.

The only additional clue is that in the parallel description of Revelation xix. 20 he is called "the False Prophet that wrought the signs in the sight of the Beast wherewith he deceived those that had received his mark and worshipped his image."

Now in trying to discover the meaning of the symbol, we may pass over the countless idle guesses of those who have endeavoured to torture the Apocalypse into a prediction of the details of all subsequent Christian history. With these guesses we are not in the least concerned. Nothing, we may be sure, was further from the mind of the writer than a desire to gratify the fantastic curiosity of eighteen centuries of Christians as to events yet future, which in no single instance have they been able to predict. The resemblance of Nero to Antiochus Epiphanes, as the personification of savage enmity to the people of God, was enough to suggest the Apocalyptic form which was so common in that age, and which enabled the Seer to express with safety his inmost convictions. It was a misfortune to all sane

interpretation when J. A. Bengel (*Erklärte Offenbarung*, 1740) first suggested the application to the Apocalypse of those disastrous arithmetical guesses which traverse the direct hints of the book itself in every particular, and which have only led to disastrous vagaries. When this method of explaining the Apocalypse is adopted there are no two schools which accept the same explanation. The solutions do not even wear the aspect of being serious. They are mere polemical ingenuities, or fantastic methods of illustrating history. They make anything mean anything, but bring no conviction to any one. There is no shadow of a consensus as to the correctness of even the general outline of exegesis adopted, much less as to any of its particulars. This method is entirely contrary to the indications afforded us by the early Church, and was not so much as dreamt of till the thirteenth century. It has been fruitful in nothing but the exacerbation of uncharitableness. The expositions which see in the False Prophet the Papal Councils (Elliott), or the Papacy (Barnes), or the Pontiff for the time being (Wordsworth), or the Italian hierarchy (Low), or Rationalism (Auberlen), may for all practical purposes be set aside as having no exegetic significance, and only tending to confuse the proper study and due comprehension of the book. They have commanded no assent. They are but specimens of the "private interpretation"—the polemical and arbitrary conjectures of biassed idiosyncrasy—of which we are expressly warned that Scripture does not admit.¹ If any find them edifying, they must indulge in them as an exercise of individual ingenuity, but cannot pretend to force them as even probable upon the attention of the Church. We have already seen that St. John all but tells us in so many words—would no doubt have told us with absolute distinctness if the perilous condition of the Church had admitted the possibility of open speech—that by the ten-horned

¹ 2 Pet. i. 20.

and seven-headed Beast he means the Roman Empire; and that by the head of it, which though wounded to death yet recovers, he means Nero, who is sometimes identified with the Beast itself. Since then the Second Beast, also characterized as the False Prophet, is placed in the closest connexion with the First, the symbol must correspond to some institution or some person who stood in immediate relation to Nero, and in which or in whom are to be found the ten characteristics by which the Seer indicates that which political danger and the necessary form of Apocalyptic literature prevent him from mentioning with greater distinctness.

Let us then examine the solutions of the problem which have been proposed by those expositors who adopt what appears to be to demonstration the only sound method of primary explanation, leaving all secondary analogies and explanations for those who think them desirable or possible.

1. Many readers, who may not be familiar with the writings of the Tübingen school, may hear with a mixture of anger and disdain the opinion of Volkmar, more or less approved by other German and French expositors, that the Second Beast and the False Prophet is—St. Paul!¹

It need hardly be said that I consider this view to be hopelessly and radically false,—nay, even perversely arbitrary. If it could be demonstrated, I should regard it as a positive proof that those who had thought slightly of this sacred book were after all in the right, and that if the Presbyter Gaius was wrong in attributing it to Cerinthus, Dionysius of Alexandria was at any rate in the right in arguing that it could not be by St. John the Apostle, though it might be by John the Presbyter, if that person ever had a real existence.

¹ Volkmar, *Commentar zur Offenbarung*, pp. 99–213. He thinks, however (p. 104), that the writer had the Pauline party more in view than Paul personally.

But neither anger, disdain, nor strength of personal conviction will really avail in overthrowing error. That end will never be achieved but by sympathy, patience, and candour. How deep would have been the advantage to theology if those who write on the subject had taken to heart the wise words of Kant. "Humanity," he says, "is itself a dignity;" and he adds, "Upon this is founded a duty for every man, even in the logical use of reason, namely, not to reprehend his blunders under the name of '*absurdities*,' not to say that they are '*inept*,' but rather to suppose that there must be something true at bottom in them, and to endeavour to find out what this is towards which would be attached the still further duty of exerting ourselves to discover the false appearance by which the other was misled, and thus, by explaining to him the ground of his error, to uphold for him his reverence for his own understanding. And truly, when we deny all sense to an adversary, how can we expect to convince him that he is in the wrong?" "Treat me," said John Wesley, "as you would desire to be treated yourself upon a change of circumstances. . . . I entreat you not to beat me down in order to quicken my pace. May I request you further not to give me hard names in order to bring me into the right way? Suppose I were ever so much in the wrong, I doubt this would not set me right."

In the spirit of this advice let us see, with patience, what are Volkmar's grounds for this conjecture, however preposterous it may seem to be.

He starts from the historic certainty, the enforcement of which is the chief general merit of the Tübingen school, that the struggle between Judaism and Christianity *within* the Church was far longer and more severe than has been hitherto supposed, or than might have been superficially inferred from the eirenic tendencies of the Acts of the Apostles. In my Life of St. Paul I have shewn the reality and intensity of the struggle, which is amply proved even in the Acts and

still more by the references in St. Paul's epistles. It is further certain that among the extreme partisans of the Judaisers—especially among the Ebionites—there lingered on for two centuries a feeling of hostility against the work of St. Paul, so deadly that it led to a description of him under the thin pseudonym of Simon Magus, and to the denial of his work and the covering of his name with oblique slanders in the pestilent Ebionite romance known as the Clementine Homilies.¹

But the Tübingen school entirely exaggerated the significance of this isolated calumny. They forgot two most important facts; (1) that it is found in a book of tendencies confessedly heretical; and (2) that even under these circumstances it is so timid, covert, and (so to speak) subterranean, that not one word is said against St. Paul openly and by name, but the writer is obliged to disguise his falsehoods and his malice under anonymous or pseudonymous innuendoes.

In these passages, however, the Tübingen writers thought they had found a clue to the entire history of the early Church, and were eager to apply it to the books of the New Testament.² They not only claimed it as certain that the Epistle of St. James was written in a spirit of direct controversy against St. Paul, but also discovered in the Epistle of St. Jude one of the "letters of commendation,"³ breathing the most envenomed hatred, which the adherents of St. James sent round the Churches to discredit the work of St. Paul.⁴ They also announced that in the Apocalypse, St. Paul is the heretical teacher who lies concealed under the names of Balaam and Jezebel, and that his followers are the

¹ Schliemann, *Clementina*, 96 sqq. 534 sqq. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 308. Stanley, *Corinthians*, p. 366.

² Baur, *Church History*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91 (etc.) Id., *Paul, his Life and Works*, vol. i. pp. 88 sq., 231 sq.

³ *συστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαί*. 2 Cor. iii. 1. Baur, *Church History*, vol. i. p. 129.

⁴ Renan, *St. Paul*, p. 300.

Nicolaitans who are so scathingly denounced for their antinomian morals.¹

If it were not a digression, it would be easy to shew that all this theory is a pure chimæra, resulting from the abandonment of the clearest and weightiest indications, in favour of the most fanciful and untrustworthy hypotheses. It is certain, alike from tradition and Scripture, that the Apostles distinctly recognized the work of St. Paul; that they were united with him in relations, which, if not particularly warm and cordial—as was natural when the difference of their spheres of work and mental training are borne in mind—were yet perfectly friendly; and that, as regards alike the Jews and the Gentiles, the opinions and the practice of St. Paul and the Pillar-Apostles were in reality identical. Of these facts the Acts of the Apostles furnish a sure testimony which (exclusive of the Clementine forgeries and the baseless system built upon them) is in entire accordance with what the earliest documents of Church history shew us to have been the case. Apart from the fictions of Ebionite literature, there is everything in favour of the view that, by the Apostles as by the Church generally, the work of St. Paul was recognized and his name honoured even by those who did not adopt his special views.

Leaving the more general aspect of the subject, we find that Volkmar's grounds for identifying the False Prophet with St. Paul are, that ἡ γῆ here means "the land," *i.e.*, Judæa; that the lamblike form of the Beast indicates that he is nominally a follower of the Lamb, *i.e.*, a Christian; that his serpent-like speech indicates craft and subtlety; that he "made the power of the Beast complete" (so he renders *πᾶσαν*!) by teaching that "every soul must be subject to the higher powers," and by thus (as it were) habit-

¹ Volkmar, *Offenbarung*, pp. 37, 40, 80, 83-85. Reuss, *Apoc.*, p. 32. It is most unfairly argued that Rev. xxi. 14 is a trait expressly intended to rebut St. Paul's assumption of the title of an Apostle!

uating the world to prostrate itself before the "devilish" Nero; that he performed miracles; that he (in some sort of sense!) made the image of the Beast speak when he taught that "the powers that be are ordained of God;" and that he made men receive his stamp and prevented them from buying and selling except in his name, by insisting upon the truth that obedience was due to him!

It will be seen then that the whole force of the explanation, which is so singularly lame and impotent in its specific details, is made to turn upon such passages as Romans xiii. 1-7, in which St. Paul teaches the general Christian rule of obedience to authority! But the supposed solution of the symbol breaks down in every particular. It offers no explanation of the two horns. It hardly even pretends to explain in what sense St. Paul stamped the mark of the Beast on the great and the noble as well as on humble Christians. It is in flagrant disaccord with all historic fact. Nothing can be more outrageous than to describe St. Paul, who speaks of Nero as "the lion," and who suffered shameful injustice and final martyrdom at his hands, as his delegate, working miracles in his sight, and causing those to be executed who will not worship his image. Thus the hypothesis sinks to the ground under the weight of cumulative absurdities. St. Paul's teaching of the duty of subjection to visible authority, so long as it is lawfully exercised, is so far from being exceptional, that—as every Christian was well aware,—it was in direct accordance with the teaching of Christ Himself.¹ Further than this, it was quite as emphatically the teaching of St. Peter, who was not only an acknowledged Apostle of the Judaists, but also the dearest friend of St. John. St. Peter not only says "*Honour the king,*" but also in language no less explicit than that of St. Paul, and probably influenced by it, "*Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the*

¹ St. Matt. xxii. 21.

king as supreme, or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.”¹

And, lastly, even as to the Divine authority of secular government, which on this hypothesis is supposed to have given the deepest offence in St. Paul’s teaching—we find in the Gospel of St. John himself an acknowledgment of the same truth in the words which our Lord addressed to Pilate, “Thou couldest have no power at all against me, *except it were given thee from above.*”²

Thus St. Peter and St. John delivered to Christians the very same rule of obedience to the powers that be which is supposed to have led the Seer to brand St. Paul as the Wild Beast from the land! Their teaching has been accepted in every age of Christianity. Tertullian and other of the Fathers indignantly repudiate the calumny that the Christians were seditious and revolutionary. They, of course, rejected the base and senseless doctrine of passive obedience. They openly repudiated the right of the civil authority to command anything which was contrary to the will of God. But, within that limit, they accepted the protection of Roman law and rendered to it their cheerful obedience. And though the author of the Apocalypse is evidently steeped in national predilections, yet so far was he from being hostile to that admission of the Gentiles into the Church which was the main life-work of St. Paul, that he admits the Gentiles side by side with the Jews into the inmost privileges of the Messianic triumph.

2. Turning our backs on an hypothesis so wildly improbable that scarcely a single writer has been found to follow it, we find as early as the third century a suggestion in Victorinus of Pettau (A.D. 303), that the Second Beast and the False Prophet is the *Roman augurial system*; and this sug-

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14–17.

² St. John xix. 11.

gestion, resting as it does on a reasonable historic basis, is followed by Grotius, by De Wette, and by Hengstenberg.

There is in this suggestion much probability, and we may point out in passing that Victorinus in the third century, no less than Irenæus in the second, saw that the Apocalypse moved in the plane of contemporary events. The early mention of this solution may have been due to some breath of still more ancient tradition. Certain it is that, in calling the Second Beast also the False Prophet (Rev. xvi. 13; xix. 20; xx. 10), St. John lends some sanction to this view. The constant mention of *Chaldæans*, *Mathematici*, *Astrologers*, *Magi*, *Augurs*, *Medici*, *Prophets*, *Casters of Horoscopes*, *Sorcerers*, *Dream-interpreters*, *Sibyllists*,¹—Oriental charlatans of every description, from Apollonius of Tyana and Alexander of Abonoteichos down to Peregrinus—is a phenomenon which constantly meets us in the Age of the Cæsars. They appeared in Rome more than two centuries before Christ. Ennius mentions them with contempt.² As early as B.C. 139, they had been ordered to quit Italy in ten days. In B.C. 33 they had again been banished by the Ædile M. Agrippa. Augustus and Tiberius had also directed severe edicts against them.³ But they held their ground.⁴ Tacitus calls the edict of Claudius “severe and ineffectual.” We see both from Tacitus and from the anecdotage of Suetonius that almost every Emperor felt and indulged in some curiosity about these divinations. Tiberius reckoned the “Chaldæan” Thrasyllus among his intimate friends.⁵ Poppæa, the wife of Nero, had “many” of them in her household.⁶ Nero had his Balbillus;⁷ Otho, his Ptole-

¹ Συβλλιστάι. Plutarch, *Marius*, 42. See Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 52; *Hist.* i. 22; ii. 62. Suet., *Tib.*, 36; *Vitell.*, 14. Juv. vi. 542.

² Cic., *De Div.*, i. 58.

³ See Val. Max., i. 3. Dion. Cass., xlix. i. Tac., ii. 27, 32; iii. 22; iv. 58; vi. 20.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 52.

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 21.

⁶ Tac., *Hist.*, i. 22.

⁷ Suet., *Ner.*, 36.

maus; ¹ Vespasian, his Seleucus; ² Domitian, his Ascletharion.³ Agrippina depended on Chaldæans for the favourable hour of Nero's usurpation.⁴ There is scarcely one of all the Emperors who had not some connexion or other with auguries, prophecies, and dreams.⁵ In the reign of Nero they were brought into special prominence,⁶ because the restless and tortured conscience of the Antichrist was constantly seeking to pry into futurity. It is remarkable that they especially encouraged his Oriental dreams, and that some of them even went as far as to promise him the empire of Jerusalem.

It has, however, been generally felt that the institution of prophets in general was not so prominent even in Nero's reign as to admit of our applying to it the ten definite indications of the apocalyptic Seer. False prophetism was hardly in any sense a *delegate* and *alter ego* of the Emperor. There is at least a probability that, as one person is specially pointed to by the symbol of the Beast, so one person is intended by his False Prophet. But in all the following suggestions it is observable, (i.) that no explanation is offered of the two horns of the lamblike beast, and (ii.) that in any case some of the allusions must remain obscure from our want of that minute historical knowledge which would alone have enabled us to decipher them. Rumours beneath the dignity of history may yet have played a powerful part in swaying the feelings of the multitude, and many a story may have been currently influential which has found no place in the page of Tacitus or even Suetonius.

Bearing these facts in view the names suggested as corresponding to the false prophet are,—

¹ Suet., *Otho*, 4. Tac., *Hist.*, i. 22, 23. ² Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 8.

³ Suet., *Domit.*, 15.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 68.

⁵ Suet., *Jul. Cæsar*, vii. 61; *Octav.*, 94; *Tiber.*, 16; *Calig.*, 57; *Otho*, 4; *Titus*, ii. 9; *Domit.*, xiv. 16. For Nero, see Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 9.

⁶ Suet., *Ner.*, 34, 36, 40. Plin., *H. N.*, xxx. 2.

a. BALBILLUS OF EPHESUS.¹ Ephesus was a principal rendezvous of those who used "curious arts." Any one who played a prominent part in that city would naturally attract the notice of the Church, and of St. John as the Apostolic Head of the Churches of Asia after the martyrdom of St. Paul. Now Balbillus was an astrologer who had great influence with Nero,² and possibly afterwards with Vespasian.³ His importance is seen in the fact that he procured the establishment of certain games at Ephesus, called after him *Balbilleia*, and mentioned in inscriptions still extant. He was remembered in Christian circles, no less than three centuries later, among those who were reported to have had "a name and pre-eminence in such impostures."⁴ Nothing is more natural than that such a person, like Apollonius and Alexander, may have pretended to miraculous endowments, which would be greedily believed by an ignorant populace; and such a man endowed with any authority would naturally have been a cruel and confidential maintainer of imperial authority. Indeed we are told that Nero actually did consult him on occasions of importance when some eminent men had to be put to death.⁵

β. Others suggest TIBERIUS ALEXANDER. He was an apostate Jew, a brother of Philo, a warm supporter of the Romans. He even accompanied Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, and we may well imagine that he must, as Procurator of Judæa, between the years A.D. 46 and 47, have taken active measures in demanding tribute, insisting on the use of the current Roman coins, and generally in maintaining the authority of Rome. In these respects

¹ Suggested by Renan, *L'Antechrist*, p. 430.

² Suet., *Ner.*, 36; comp. 34, 40.

³ If he be the same as Barbillus (Dion. Cass., lxxvi. 9).

⁴ Arnob., *Adv. Gentes.*, i. 52. The M^s S. read Bæbulus, but Balbillus is a probable emendation.

⁵ Tac., *Hist.*, i. 22. Suet., *Nero.*, 36.

he would correspond more nearly than Balbillus to the description of the Second Beast. We know, too, that he was peculiarly execrable in the opinion of Jews, whose estimate of him would naturally be shared by Christians of Jewish proclivities. We know nothing, however, of any pretence on his part to work miracles. Moreover, he had long ceased to be Procurator before the Apocalypse was written; and in other particulars the suggestion has nothing very probable in its favour, except on the untenable supposition that the Apocalypse is exclusively a picture of the last days of Jerusalem.

7. The same may be said of JOSEPHUS. He did indeed parade certain pretences to supernatural foresight,¹ and no doubt his talents and influence were supremely useful to the Romans during the siege of Jerusalem, on which account he afterwards held a very high position among them.² A cruel fighter and a subtle orator, who could try to make the Jews accept the Wild Beast as a Messiah, might well be looked upon as a personification of False-Prophethood.³ He is doubtless worthy of the scorn and hatred with which his compatriots regarded him,⁴ and all the more because he was both of priestly and kingly lineage, and had been a member of the chief Jewish sect.⁵ St. John may have personally known, and, if so, would most assuredly see through, him. But neither his supernatural pretensions nor his authority could have been described in this language of the Apocalypse without an exaggeration which would have effectually precluded the reader from discovering that he was meant.⁶

¹ See especially *Bell. Jud.*, iii. 7, § 9, and 8, § 3.

² He boasts of this in his *Jewish War* (iii. 7, § 9), and *Life*, § 75, 76, and mentions the constant accusations from Jews to which he was liable.

³ *Bell. Jud.*, iii. 8, §§ 3, 9; iv. 10, § 7.

⁴ *Suet.*, *Vesp.*, 5. *Dion. Cass.*, lxvi. 1. *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 13, § 3; *Vit.*, § 76.

⁵ *Vit.*, i. § 2, 5.

⁶ All that can be said in favour of this view is ingeniously stated by Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, pp. 179-189. But most of the details which would make

δ. More, on the whole, is to be said in favour of the view that the false prophet is SIMON MAGUS. In one direction he corresponds with remarkable closeness to the symbols. His baptism gave him a certain lamblike semblance to Christianity, while his gross heresies were the voice of the serpent. Christian tradition, which may well be founded on facts, has much to say about his pretended miracles, and two classes of those miracles are of the very character here indicated. It is said, for instance, that the False Prophet makes fire come down upon the earth. Now among the miracles of Simon we are told that one was to appear clothed in flame.¹ It is said that the False Prophet animates an image of the Beast, and Simon is expressly said to have made statues move, so that he may well have also pretended to make them speak.² If he attempted this at all, he is more likely to have applied his imposture to the statue of the emperor—"the image of the Beast"—than to any other. All that would have been needed was a little machinery and a little ventriloquism. Further, it was at Rome that Simon displayed his magic powers, and they are said to have been exercised with the immediate object of winning influence over Nero. In this the legend declares that he entirely succeeded, and that his influence was wielded to induce the Emperor to persecute and massacre the Christians. These features appear not in one, but in many authors;³ and, though the

Josephus appropriate belong to a date rather later than the publication of the Apocalypse.

¹ Arnobius (*Adv. Gent.*, ii. 12) speaks of Simon being precipitated from a fiery chariot. Augustine, *Haer.*, i., says that he professed to have come to the Apostles in fiery tongues. Nicephorus says that he professed to pass through fire unhurt.

² Clem., *Recogn.*, iii. 47. "I have made statues move about."

³ Justin Mart., *Apol.*, ii. p. 69. Tertull., *De Anim.*, 34; *De Præscr. Hæc.*, 37. Sulp. Sev., *Hist. Sacr.*, ii. 42. Clem., *Hom.*, ii. 34; iv. 4; *Recogn.*, ii. 9; iii. 47, 57; *Constt. Apost.*, vi. 9. Epiphan., *Hæc.*, xxi. 5. Arnob., *Adv. Gentes.*, ii. 12. Ambros., *Hexaem.*, iv. 8, § 3¹. Cyrill., *Catech.*, 6. Ps. Hegesipp., *De excidio*

sources from which we now derive this information are exceedingly dubious, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Simon Magus did find his way to Rome—the reservoir, as Tacitus says, into which all things infamous and shameful flowed¹—and did there endeavour to win dupes by the same magic arts which had gained him so many votaries among the simple Samaritans.² If we suppose that he dazzled the mind of Nero, and that he was one of those men of Jewish race, who, with Aliturus and Josephus, taught Nero and his servants to discriminate between Jews and Christians, and to martyr the latter while they honoured the former, then in Simon Magus the False Prophet of the Apocalypse would stand revealed. It is true that the Pagan historians are absolutely silent about him and his doings; but the events themselves had no political significance, and lay outside their sphere. They belong to the history of the Church, not of the State.³

III. We now pass from what may be called the ecclesiastical and the religious fields of conjecture to the political. It must be remembered that it is, as it were, only by an afterthought that the Second Beast is called the False Prophet. May we not look for him in another region of Roman life?

a. The conjecture that the false prophet was ALBINUS or GESSIUS FLORUS is suggested by the author of “The Parousia,” in accordance with the systems which place the whole history of the Apocalypse in Judæa. The note of miraculous assumptions is, however, too wholly wanting to make the suggestion tenable.

β. But there is a suggestion which seems to me much

Hieros. August., *Serm.*, iii. de SS. Petro et Paulo. Nicephorus Callistus, *H.E.*, ii. 27.

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 46.

² Acts viii. 11.

³ Justin's mistake about a statue to him as a god was dispelled in 1574, when the inscription to the Sabine god, Semo Sangus was found in the place which he mentions.

more probable, and which, though elaborately supported by Hildebrandt in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1874, has hardly (so far as I am aware) received the attention which it deserved. It is that by the False Prophet, or the "Second Beast from the land," is meant VESPASIAN. Let us apply to him the ten indications which the Seer has furnished.

1. Being a "*wild beast*" it is *a priori* probable that he will belong to the heathen world. He rises "from the earth" or "from the land." If we take the former rendering it may point to his taking his origin, as an important power, not from the sea, or any sea-washed peninsula like Italy, whence Nero had sprung, but from the vast continent of Asia; *i.e.*, the growth of his power is connected with the East. If the words be rendered "*from the land*," which is not only permissible, but even probable, it then applies to Judæa. Now both Jews¹ and Pagans² were struck with the fact that Vespasian, as Emperor, "went forth from Judæa," and they connected his rise in that country with many prophecies then current, not only in the East, but among the Romans themselves—prophecies which were familiar to more than one of the Cæsars, and had exercised no small influence on their aims and actions.

2. He had *two horns like unto a lamb*. There is hardly one of those who have been suggested as answering to the False Prophet to whom this description in any way applies. To Vespasian it *does* apply in a remarkable manner. His nature and his language, as compared with those of a Caligula and a Nero, were absolutely mild. He was indeed as indifferent to the blood and misery of a hostile people as all the Romans were; but there was nothing naturally ferocious and sanguinary in the character of this worthy bourgeois.³ Now since the *ten horns* of the

¹ Jos., *B. J.*, vi. 5, § 4.

² Suet., *Vesp.*, 6.

³ Josephus boasts of the generosity of Vespasian as something extraordinary.

Beast are ten provincial governors—ten powers which are, primarily, a source of his strength—we should expect that the *two horns* also indicated persons, and especially persons more or less imperial in their functions, in whose existence lay the strength of the Lamb-like Beast. Now this was the exact position of Vespasian. His force lay in the fact that he had *two sons, both of them men of mark*: Titus, the conqueror of Judæa, who kept the allegiance of the army firm for him while he was awaiting his actual accession to power; Domitian, who headed his party in Rome. But for their assistance his cause could not have prospered so decisively, and both of them succeeded to the empire after his death.

3. *He spake as a dragon or serpent*, that is, he used the language generically of Paganism, and specifically of subtle and deceptive intention. The allusion may be to circumstances which were better known to St. John than to us; but meanwhile, whether the allusion be generic or specific, there is sufficient evidence that it is appropriate in a sketch of the rise of Vespasian.

4. He is a *visible delegate of*, and responsible to, the First Beast. This applies better to Vespasian than to any one. The first outbreak of the Jewish war took place while Nero was indulging in his frantic follies of æstheticism in Greece, A.D. 66. He instantly despatched Vespasian to suppress the rebellion. Vespasian, with extraordinary skill and vigour

Antt., xii. 3, § 2. His natural kindness, and freedom from hatred and revenge, are freely admitted, and may account for his external semblance to "a lamb" in the apocalyptic symbol. But St. John, a Jew by birth and a true patriot, saw with Jewish eyes the inner wild-beast nature of the man. He would be little likely to share in the renegade admiration of Josephus for the general who caused such myriads of Jews—

"To swell slow pacing by the car's tall side
The stoic tyrant's philosophic pride;
To flesh the lion's ravenous jaws, and feel
The sportive fury of the fencer's steel;
Or sigh, deep-plunged beneath the sultry mine,
For the light airs of balmy Palestine."

collected a powerful army, and handled his troops with such military genius that, from the first, the issue of the Jewish war could not be doubtful. To a general so placed it would have been an easy matter to revolt against the blood-stained buffoon who then afflicted the world. But as long as the Emperor lived, Vespasian, though not a favourite of Nero, remained conspicuously faithful. After the battle of Tarrichæa, so powerfully described by Josephus, he put to death 1,200 of the oldest and weakest Jews, and sent 6,000 of the strongest to Nero to carry out his design of cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth. At the same time 30,400 Jews were sold into slavery. To a Christian, much more to a Jewish Christian, there must have been something frightfully ominous in such news as this. He must have seen in the advance of Vespasian, and the ever-approaching, inevitable fate of Jerusalem—for which he was prepared by the great eschatological discourse of Jesus on the Mount—a beginning of those “woes of the Messiah,” to which alike Jews and Christians looked with terror, but which would be only the travail-pangs of the Messiah, the prelude to the return of Christ.¹ It was about this time that even Josephus had been daring enough to salute Vespasian and Titus, in what he himself claimed as a moment of inspiration,² as the future Emperors. Yet they remained faithful to Nero till his suicide, and afterwards made their legions take the oath of fidelity to Otho, who was a mere reflex of Nero, as he had been his bosom friend.

5. And he *made the earth* (or “land”) *worship the First Beast*, whose death-stroke was healed. To enforce subjection to Nero, who even in his lifetime was “worshipped” as a god, was the express object of Vespasian’s mission to the East. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that by the Wild Beast is meant the Roman Empire in general as well

¹ Matt. xxiv. 8, ἀρχὴ ὁδίων, the חֲבִלֵי הַמֵּשִׁיחַ Dan. xii. 1.

² Jos., B. J., iii. 8, § 4

as Nero, and Rome was worshipped as a goddess in many of the provinces.¹

6. It might seem an impossibility that any Roman general should have pretended *to work signs*, still more that there could be anything which could be brought to resemble his bringing down fire from heaven. It happens, however, that Vespasian is the one Roman—the only Roman in high places, *the only Imperial delegate*—to whom such language will apply. His visit to Alexandria was accompanied by signs and wonders which obtained wide credence. Not only had the Nile risen in a single day higher than it had ever done before, but Vespasian was believed to have worked personal miracles.² He had anointed with spittle the eyes of a blind man, and restored his sight; before a full assembly he had healed a cripple; and he had shewn a remarkable example of second sight.³ We do not, indeed, read that he had called down fire from heaven; but that expression may well be metaphorical of the fire and sword with which he scathed and devastated Palestine, and we *can* see the circumstance which may have given shape to the image. It represents the False Prophet as a Pseudo-Elias, and there was a circumstance which might well have suggested a sort of antithesis between the two. Vespasian had visited Carmel, and had received a remarkable communication from “the god Carmelus,” who, though not worshipped under the form of any image, had there an altar which was regarded as peculiarly sacred. This god Carmelus had given him an oracle, which, even in the version of Suetonius, reminds us strongly of Daniel xi. 36, namely, that “everything which he had in his mind should prosper,

¹ On the apotheosis of Emperors, often even in their lifetime, see Suet., *Octav.*, 59; *Tiber.*, 40; *Claud.*, 2; *Calig.*, 22, 24; *Vesp.*, 9. Tac., *Ann.*, i. 10, 71; iv. 15, 37; xiv. 31, etc., and the excellent chapter in Boissier, *La religion Romaine*.

² Dion. Cass., lxxvi. 8. Suet., *Vesp.*, 7.

³ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 82.

however great it was.”¹ As a “*fulmen belli*,” Vespasian, in his brilliant successes at the beginning of the Jewish war, might well be said, in the style of writing which constantly intermingles the symbolic and the literal, to have flashed fire from heaven upon the enemies of the Beast.

7. He gives breath to the image of the Beast and makes it speak. Whether in this instance, again, we have some belief of a magic wonder current in that day we cannot tell. All that we know is that Vespasian would certainly enforce homage and reverence from the conquered Jews to the statues of the Emperor,² which Nero was specially fond of multiplying, and which the Jews regarded with peculiar abhorrence.³ In the “Ascension of Isaiah” it is made a characteristic of Nero that “he shall erect his statue in all cities before his face.”⁴ Since Simon Magus pretended to animate statues with life, there may have been a rumour that something of the kind had taken place in Judea. If not, the metaphorical meaning, the reanimation of the Roman power in Palestine, which the successful revolt of the Jews had for a time extinguished, is quite sufficient to meet the language of the Seer.

8. The *putting to death of those who will not worship the image of the Beast*:—the slaughter, banishment, and sale into slavery, of all who refused to accept the imperial authority, reverence the imperial images, and accept the imperial coinage, is a circumstance which will explain itself. The Jewish revolt would tend to put a limit to the contemptuous tolerance with which the Romans had, up to this time, conceded to the Jews at least some shadow of liberty by not compelling them to violate the strongest prejudices of their religion. The conquest of Galilee by Vespasian deluged even the Lake of Tiberias with blood.

¹ Suet., *Vesp.*, 5. Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 78.

² Jos., *Antt.*, xviii. 8, §1.

³ “The image of the beast is clearly the statue of the Emperor.”—*Milman*.

⁴ *Ascens. Ies.*, iv. 11. *Lactant.*, ii. 7.

9. *He stamps men of all ranks and classes, high and low, rich and poor, with the image of his Beast, and the number of his name.* This detail, which only applies in the loosest possible manner to any of the others who have been regarded as the antitypes of the False Prophet, suits Vespasian very closely. It is little less than absurd to apply such language to St. Paul, or Josephus, or even to Simon Magus. It exactly describes the natural conduct of Vespasian in giving his soldiers the brand of their service,¹ and exacting from all classes the oath of allegiance, making them swear "by the genius of Cæsar,"—first of Nero, then of Otho.

10. *The forbidding all to buy and sell who have not got the mark of the Beast* seems to be a very natural reminiscence of one of Vespasian's most remarkable acts. When Nero was dead, and Otho also had committed suicide after the terrible battle of Bedriacum, neither Vespasian nor his soldiers felt inclined to obey the imbecile rule of the glutton Vitellius. Vespasian accepted his own nomination to the Empire by the legions of Mucianus as well as by his own, and he hastened to make himself master of the occasion by establishing himself at Alexandria. Any ruler who had hold of Alexandria could command the allegiance of Egypt, and the lord of Egypt could always put his hand upon the very throat of Rome. For Italy was supplied with corn by Egypt. If the corn ships did not sail from Alexandria, the populace of Rome was starved. Accordingly, the first thing which Vespasian did was to *forbid all exports* from Alexandria. That stern edict was felt throughout the Empire. The object of it was to starve Rome into an absolute acceptance of his imperial claim. It was entirely successful. Galba, Otho, and even Vitellius were regarded as isolated military usurpers; Vespasian, the Wild Beast's delegate, the Wild Beast's miraculous upholder, mounted the Wild Beast's

¹ See Ronsch, *Das N. T. Tertullians*, p. 702.

throne; and, like him, became one of the seven heads, and wielded the power of the ten provincial horns—once rebellious—now subdued.

To me these circumstances, which I have drawn out in my own way, but of which the original discovery is due to Hildebrandt, seem to be nearly decisive. My only doubt is whether, in that subtle interchange of ideas which mark all symbolic literatures, St. John may not have mingled two conceptions in his description of the Second Beast. If so, I should feel no doubt that the subordinate monster was meant to combine the features observable in the position and conduct of Simon Magus as the False Prophet and Impostor who supported Nero at Rome, and of Vespasian as a two-horned Wild Beast maintaining his power in the Holy Land.

Lastly, to revert for one moment again to the return of the Antichrist in the person of Nero, it is in apocalyptic and Oriental style amply fulfilled in the reign of Domitian. If Galba, Otho, and Vitellius be not reckoned as mere transitory usurpers who would hardly be regarded as Emperors at all, then Nero the fifth Emperor *did* reappear, not indeed in person, but in symbol, in the eighth Emperor, Domitian. Even Titus was regarded as likely to be a coming Nero. The Jews were very far from looking upon him as the *amor et deliciæ humani generis*. It is probable that Sulpicius Severus may be preserving for us the testimony of Tacitus when (ii. 97) he attributes to him the thoroughly Neronian and Antichristian purpose of uprooting Christianity with Judaism in one and the same stroke. This purpose, if he ever had it, he did not live to carry out. But Domitian was an open persecutor of Christianity. Tertullian not only sets him side by side with Nero, but even calls him *portio Neronis de crudelitate* (Apol. 5). In Domitian the Christians saw the legend of Nero *redivivus* symbolically if not actually fulfilled.

F. W. FARRAR.

TATIAN'S DIATESSARON.

It has now been seen that the work on which Ephraem commented in the treatise published by Dr. Moesinger in a Latin translation was Tatian's Diatessaron in Syriac, and that this Diatessaron corresponded closely with the Latin Harmony which has been preserved by Victor of Capua. Tatian succeeded in producing a work which, as Theodoret bears witness, was popular in the Church for two or three centuries afterwards, and, as appears from the way in which it was treated in Victor's Harmony, was freely transferred into other versions, received additions and perhaps modifications. There is good reason, however, to believe that Ephraem has preserved for us, on the whole, the original form of the Diatessaron; and Harnack's judgment (Brieger's *Zeitschrift*, 1881, pp. 90, 91) appears a just one: "While reserving a more exact examination, the conclusion seems to be well founded that in Ephraem's Harmony we must recognize the work of Tatian. From Ephraem's commentary the text of the Diatessaron may be restored to a very considerable extent, though certainly not as fully as could be wished; and, above all, a conclusion may be formed as to its plan and arrangement. There remains certainly the abstract possibility that in the course of two centuries the Diatessaron had been already altered; and, having regard to the fates which other non-catholic writings underwent in the period between A.D. 200 and 400, such a possibility may even appear probable. At the same time, so far as I see, there is not one single certain observation to be made on the Harmony handed down by Ephraem which points to such a conclusion. On the contrary, the peculiar readings, bearing the characteristics of great antiquity, and the abbreviations (such as the omission of the genealogies and of references to the Davidic Sonship) which Ephraem had before him, shew that the

text of the Diatessaron must have been preserved with substantial accuracy."

It remains to offer the reader some instances of those peculiar readings. It should be observed, in the first place, that while, as has been said, the genealogies and anything corresponding to them are omitted, references to our Lord's succession to the throne of David are not similarly excluded. Thus the blind man, in St. Mark x. 47, exclaims, "Thou Son of David, have mercy on me" (p. 181); and, again, on occasion of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the exclamation is recorded (p. 207), "Blessing to the Son of David" (St. Matt. xxi. 15). On the other hand, there would seem, as Harnack thinks, to be some significance in the manner in which references to David are omitted or modified in the angelic announcements of our Lord's birth. Thus of the announcement to the shepherds (St. Luke ii. 11), the only words quoted are, "This day is born unto you a Saviour" (p. 27); the message to Joseph (St. Matt. i. 20) is simply, "Fear not" (p. 22); in the annunciation to Mary (St. Luke i. 32) the first quotation is (p. 15), "The Lord God shall give unto him the seat of David (*sedem David*)"; "that is," as Ephraem immediately adds, "because it had been foretold, *Non deficiet dominator et princeps donec veniet* (Gen. xlix. 10)." But on the next page the passage is quoted differently (p. 16): "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David," and Ephraem proceeds to lay stress on Mary's belonging to the house of David. The difference in the two quotations, as Harnack observes, may very possibly indicate that Ephraem, as in many other instances, is supplementing the text before him from his own recollection of the Gospels; but it must be allowed to be remarkable that his commentary at this point betrays no apprehension, such as Theodoret expresses, of the work before him being defective or heretical in respect to our Lord's descent from David after

the flesh. In one other passage, however, the reference to our Lord's position, as Son of David, is omitted in a marked way. The story of the Canaanitish woman is introduced (p. 138) by the quotation: "The woman cried out and followed Him saying, 'Have mercy on me'; but He answered her not a word." On the whole, if we draw a distinction between our Lord's position as David's successor and as his son, and allow for Ephraem's habit of occasionally reading into his text from his memory, we may accept Harnack's conclusion that the Harmony on this point agrees substantially with Theodoret's account. It is clear that, whatever its omissions, it cannot have been conspicuously heretical on such matters, or it would never have met with such wide acceptance in orthodox circles as Theodoret describes.

We pass to the principal readings which seem worthy of attention, referring first to the select passages which Mr. Scrivener notices in the concluding chapter of his *Introduction*. In St. Matthew i. 18, Tatian supports the reading "Jesus Christ," Ephraem's quotation being *Generatio Jesu Christi sic erat* (p. 20). No light appears to be thrown upon the reading and interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. Only a few heads of the Sermon on the Mount are noticed, and the passage containing the Lord's Prayer is not among them. There is no reason whatever to conclude from this circumstance that it was not contained in Ephraem's text, for, as has been seen, he frequently notices only a few words out of a long passage, or one incident out of a story. In St. Matthew xix. Tatian supports the old reading, "Why callest thou Me good?" (p. 168.) The next single text in Mr. Scrivener's selection on which Ephraem throws any light is the Angelic Hymn in St. Luke ii. 14; and here his evidence, although chiefly indirect, is very interesting. The only words he quotes are, "*Gloria in excelsis Deo, et pax in terra*" (p. 27), but the accompanying commentary seems to imply that he read the third clause in the familiar

and cherished form, "Good will to men." He says that as the Divine grace and mercy give joy to sinners on earth, so their repentance gives joy to angels in heaven; and proceeds: "*Deo Gloria ex liberâ voluntate*" (which Moesinger interprets, "Glory to God from those who serve him voluntarily and cheerfully"), "*et iis quibus iratus erat, pax et reconciliatio, et iis qui rei erant spes et remissio.*" It would seem that we have here each of the three clauses paraphrased. "Glory in the highest" is interpreted by "Glory to God from free will," or "from those who serve him freely"—meaning, perhaps, from the angels; "peace on earth" by "peace and reconciliation to those with whom he was wroth;" and the remaining interpretation, "hope and remission to those who were guilty," can hardly correspond to any other reading than *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*, "goodwill to men." The word "hope" seems again to correspond to *εὐδοκία* in a subsequent explanation. Ephraem quotes once more, "*Gloria in excelsis Deo et pax in terra,*" and adds as his own commentary, "*non bestiis et brutis sed spes bonis filiis hominum.*" It might be thought for a moment that *bonis filiis* indicates the reading "men of his good pleasure." But in that case the word *spes* would be at least superfluous; and when we have it in the sentence before coupled with *remissio*, as parallel to *pax* in the second clause of the hymn, it is far more natural to suppose that Ephraem was translating "Goodwill to men." Another very precious passage which Westcott and Hort place between double brackets, and on which the margin of the Revised Version casts a doubt (St. Luke xxiii. 34), is supported by Tatian; Ephraem quoting the words: "They know not what they do" (p. 265). His authority is against the disputed phrase in St. John iii. 13, *ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*; the quotation standing "*Nemo ascendit in cælum, nisi, qui descendit de cælo, filius hominis*" (p. 187). The text is quoted a second time (p. 189), and again stops short at

"the Son of Man," nor does the commentary appear to refer to any addition to those words.

On the Verses in St. John v. 3, 4, containing the account of the angel troubling the water, our new evidence is again only indirect. Ephraem comments on the narrative and quotes several phrases from it; but he does not quote these words. His commentary, however, seems to imply that he accepted the account of the angel's interposition. His quotation begins (p. 145) with Verses 5-7: "And a certain man was there," etc., and on this he observes: "By which saying the Jews are confounded, who do not believe that baptism remits sins. For if they believe that by the water of Siloam an angel healed the impotent man, how much more ought they to believe that the Lord of angels purifies by baptism from every stain." And, again, on the words, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work," Ephraem says: "For if created things, angels, and lights and dew and rain and springs and streams, are not restrained on the Sabbath day; if on the Sabbath day neither are the angels taken from their service and servitude, nor," etc., which again shews that angelic interposition was in his thoughts. At the same time it is always possible in such instances that his memory is supplementing his text. Passing to the passage on which Porphyry based one of his objections, St. John vii. 8, "I go not up," or "I go not up yet," unto this feast, Ephraem's quotation from the Diatessaron gives the former reading "*non ascendo*" (p. 167), but he adds a remarkable comment, "*i.e., ad crucem. Non dixit: non ascendo ad festum hoc, sed in festo hoc.*" There appears no other authority for the latter reading "in this feast"; but Epiphanius gives a similar explanation of the saying: "He spoke mysteriously and spiritually to his brethren, and they understood not what He said: for He told them that He would not go up to the temple in that feast, nor to the cross, to complete at that time the economy of his passion."

(Tisch., ed. 8, vol. i. p. 812.) Finally, to complete these references to Dr. Scrivener's selected passages, the story of the woman taken in adultery is not quoted by Ephraem.

We pass to some of the more important passages to which Harnack has called attention. In St. John i. the third and fourth verses are read in the manner which is supported by so many ancient testimonies: "without Him was not anything made. That which was made was life in Him" (p. 5). St. Matthew i. 25 is again and again quoted, "*In sanctitate habitabat cum ea, donec peperit primogenitum*" (p. 25), and Ephraem insists urgently upon the belief that Joseph continued to live *in sanctitate*, and that Mary had no other children. Dr. Moesinger observes in his Preface (p. ix.) that this is one of the instances in which Ephraem's text agrees with the Curetonian Syriac, which has "*Caste habitabat cum ea, donec peperit filium.*" Ephraem mentions one other curious variation in this passage. He says: "The words are spoken in inverted order. For he first took her, and afterwards lived with her in sanctity. But so it is read: 'He lived with her in sanctity and took her'" (p. 25). A very singular reading is contained in one of the Armenian Codices in St. Luke ii. 35. Instead of "a sword shall pierce through thine own soul," this Codex reads "*Pertransibis gladium,*" "Thou shalt pass by the sword" (p. 28), and it is quite clear that Ephraem had this reading before him, as he proceeds to give a striking explanation of it. "For the sword which fenced Paradise on account of Eve was removed through Mary," the flaming sword, which kept the way of the tree of life, being removed by the redemption. There appears no other trace of this reading or interpretation. As is more than once the case, however, Ephraem proceeds to give the other reading, and another interpretation of the passage, and his words are worth quoting for other reasons. "A sword shall pass through, *i.e.*, a denial. But the Greek text clearly says,

that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed,' namely, of those who doubted. (And when he says, 'A sword shall pass through,' that is, 'thou too shalt doubt,' for indeed Mary believed Him to be the gardener).'' Moesinger says of the passage in brackets that, as the context shews, it is an interpolation, although contained in both Codices. But it is to be remarked that in another part of the commentary (p. 270), in the narrative of our Lord's resurrection, Mary the mother of our Lord appears to be confounded with Mary Magdalene. On the words "Touch Me not," and "I ascend unto my Father," Ephraem observes: "Because she had doubted He said to her, 'until I ascend unto my Father, thou shalt not approach Me,' as in that saying 'The sword shall pass through thine own soul, that is, the denial.''' There is another point worth notice which is illustrated in this passage. Ephraem, it will be seen, refers to the Greek text, and on its authority gives the preference to the reading *Pertransibit gladius*. This he does again (p. 116) on St. Matthew xi. 25, where he quotes from Tatian "*Gratias ago tibi, Pater cælestis*," but adds "*in Græco dicit: Gratias ago tibi, Deus Pater, Domine cæli et terræ*." Again (p. 53), in the narrative of the miracle in Cana, he observes, "*Græcus scribit, Recubuit et defecit vinum*." In the two previous places the Greek quoted agrees with the common text. In the third place Moesinger observes with justice that the quotation from the Greek version is unmeaningly inserted, and that he cannot conjecture from whence it was taken. Once more (on p. 228) Ephraem says: "*Scriptura*," (or, as Dr. Moesinger gives it in a note), "*Lectio sic habet et aperte dicit, Glorifica me ea gloria quam habui coram te, antequam mundus fieret*;" where again the quotation agrees with the ordinary text. It is natural to conclude, as Harnack does, from these expressions that Ephraem refers in such passages to the Greek text, not of the Diatessaron, but of the Gospels themselves ;

and that the latter text, and not that of Tatian's work, was read in the Churches, and had the special authority of *Scriptura*. Incidentally, this confirms the belief that Ephraem had sufficient knowledge of Greek to turn to it for critical purposes, although he preferred using a Syriac Diatessaron. (See Dr. Payne Smith's article on Ephraem in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. ii. pp. 143-4.) The Diatessaron, we may presume, was popular for private reading, as in the time of Theodoret; but it had no canonical authority, nor was it used in public service.

The next reading to be noticed is a very remarkable one. In St. Matthew xvi., Verse 15 and those which follow are thus quoted (p. 153): "*Vos autem quid dicitis de me quod sim. Simon, caput et princeps, locutus est: Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi. Et respondit: Beatus es Simon. Et portæ inferi te non vincent.*" There is thus an omission of the important words "For flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." Ephraem proceeds, indeed, to quote and to comment upon the words "*tu es petra*"; but his observations apply our Lord's assurances to St. Peter alone, instead of referring them to the Church. Thus immediately after the words just quoted, "The gates of Hell shall not prevail against thee," Ephraem proceeds, "That is, because his faith shall not be destroyed. For what the Lord builds who can destroy, and what the Lord overthrows who can raise up again? . . . The Lord, when He was building his Church, built a tower, the foundations of which were able to bear all that was to be built upon it." For as, he says, "at the confusion of tongues, the earthly tower and the enduring building and the refuge of labour was frustrated, so afterwards the Saviour himself made a tower which leads up to heaven, and a tree the fruit of which is the healing of life." Then he continues,

"*Tu es petra*, that stone which He set up that Satan might stumble against it. On the other hand, Satan desired to oppose this stone to our Lord that He might stumble against it, when Peter said to the Lord, 'That be far from Thee, Lord.' . . . The Lord took this stone and cast it behind Him, that the followers of Satan might stumble against it, as 'they went backwards and fell to the ground.' " We have given the substance of the commentary, and, combining it with the text first quoted, it would certainly appear improbable that Ephraem had before him the passages which speak of the building of the Church upon the rock of Peter's confession, or of the binding and loosing. The one point to which Ephraem and his texts direct attention is, that Peter's own faith would not be suffered to fail, and perhaps he implies also that, in thus laying firmly the foundation of Peter's faith, a foundation was at the same time being laid for the faith of the Church. Harnack thinks it not too bold to conclude that, at the time of Tatian, the omitted passages did not exist in St. Matthew's text. Considering that the words *Tu es petra*, though omitted in the first quotation, are subsequently commented upon, this seems to us too much to conclude. But the quotation "the gates of hell shall not prevail against THEE," combined with the tenour of the comment, seem to shew that Ephraem understood the promise simply to refer to Peter's own faith, and to the importance of his work in the foundation of the Church.

One interesting saying appears to be attributed to our Lord by Ephraem, though it is not printed by Moesinger as an actual quotation. On the parable of the unjust steward, Ephraem observes (p. 163): "Purchase for yourselves, he says, O sons of Adam, with these transitory things which are not yours, that which is yours, and which does not pass away." Dr. Moesinger says in a note, that he does not know what is meant by the insertion "he says," *ait*.

Harnack, however, observes that, if it be supposed to refer to our Lord, we are reminded of the saying mentioned by writers of the second and third century, "Be ye good moneychangers." Another interesting reading is given at pp. 90 and 115, referring apparently, from the respective context, to the mission both of the Twelve and of the Seventy, in St. Matthew x. and St. Luke x.: "*Misit eos binos juxta similitudinem suam*," as though "after his likeness" were the meaning of the words we translate "before his face." Dr. Moesinger particularly observes that the words "*juxta similitudinem suam*" are in both Codices written in red, and must be regarded as a quotation. In the former of these two narratives we have, also as a quotation from St. Matthew x. 23. (p. 95), "*Amen dico vobis, non poteritis consummare has urbes, donec venero ad vos*." In St. Matthew xviii. 20, there is a singular variation (p. 165): "*Ubi unus est, ibi et ego sum. Et ubi duo sunt, ibi et ego ero*." St. Cyprian, it will be remembered (*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, ch. xii.), insists from this text on the necessity of unity: "most is given not to the multitude but to the unanimity of those that pray. 'If,' he says, 'two of you shall agree on earth:' He placed agreement first; He has made the concord of peace a prerequisite." But Ephraem uses his peculiar reading for the consolation of the solitary, doubtless meaning the monks. "As Christ consulted for his flock in all its necessities, so He consoled those who lead a solitary life in this sad condition, saying, 'where there is one, there am I also,' lest any solitary one should be saddened; for He Himself is our joy, and He Himself is with us. 'And where there are two, there will I also be,' because his mercy and grace overshadow us." In St. John xvi. 7, we have a striking addition (p. 225). "It is good for you that I go away; for if I go not away the Comforter will not come to you, and all truth will not become known

to you," "*et omnis veritas vobis non innotescet.*" In St. Luke xxii., Verse 44, which with Verse 43 is placed in double brackets by Westcott and Hort, and is marked as doubtful in the Revised Version, is supported by Tatian. Ephraem gives the quotation (p. 235) "*Et factus est sudor ejus, ut gutta sanguinis,*" and adds the characteristic comment: "His sweat was in order to cure the sickness of Adam. 'In the sweat of thy face,' he says, 'thou shalt eat thy bread.' And He prayed in a garden that He might bring Adam back again into a garden."

These appear the more important readings which Ephraem's text affords us. There are a good many minor variations, some of which are noticed by Harnack; but those above mentioned will probably be sufficient to shew that we have been furnished by Dr. Moesinger with an original and independent authority, which will justly claim further attention. On one or two omissions upon which Harnack dwells, we cannot lay any stress. Thus he sees an indication of the antiquity of Ephraem's text in the absence of any quotation from the last verses of St. Mark, or from the narratives of the Ascension. But the fragmentary nature of Ephraem's quotations renders any deduction from such omissions untrustworthy, and it is of much more weight on the other hand that we have quotations from St. John xxi.; while Ephraem speaks in his commentary of the ascension of our Lord to his Father's right hand (p. 273). The commentary, in fact, seems somewhat abruptly concluded, the last Chapter, the 22nd, containing simply the quotation, "*Sed vos permanebitis in Jerusalem donec accipietis promissionem Patris mei*" (p. 274), which appears to be taken from Acts i. 4, rather than from St. Luke xxiv. 49. On the whole, the commentary is useful for the positive information it gives us concerning Tatian's work; but it is rash to draw negative conclusions from its omissions.

It concludes with some prayers, and with some interest-

ing observations on the composition of the Gospels, which must be taken to represent the current tradition in Ephraem's time, and which it will be worth while to quote in full: "The words of the apostles are not all equal and the same, because they did not write the Gospel at the same time. For they did not receive the command to write as Moses was ordered to make the tables; but, as the prophet says, 'I will give them a covenant, not like the former one; but I will put my law in their mind and will write it in their heart.' But they produced their writings as occasion moved them. Matthew wrote a Gospel in Hebrew, which was afterwards translated into Greek. Mark followed Simon; and when they were come into the city of Rome, that there might be a perfect remembrance of things—lest, perhaps, in consequence of the lapse of time something should be forgotten—they asked Mark, and he wrote whatever he had received. Luke began from the baptism of John; for he spoke of his incarnation and of his kingdom from David, while the other began from Abraham. Then came John; and, finding that the words of those who had written concerning the genealogy and the human nature of the Lord had aroused various opinions, he wrote that He was not only man, but that from the beginning He was the Word. Matthew wrote the Gospel in Hebrew; Mark in Latin, from Simon, in the city of Rome; Luke in Greek; John also wrote in Greek at Antioch, for he remained among the living up to the time of Trajan." The most remarkable point in this tradition is the statement that John wrote his Gospel at Antioch. Harnack observes that there appears no other authority for such a belief; but Wittichen has concluded from internal grounds that the Gospel had a Syrian origin.

We have confined ourselves to the most salient points in the work which has been thus singularly preserved to us, and so singularly overlooked. It cannot fail to be the

subject of much further investigation, and it seems in many respects to point us beyond or behind itself. We may well believe that it is but a pledge of many more such discoveries in the hidden treasures of the East. But even the preliminary examination we have been able to bestow upon it will, we hope, have helped to illustrate the unity of Christian tradition, to confirm the received conclusions of Christian criticism, and to exhibit in a new and interesting light some important passages of the Gospels.

HENRY WACE.

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

II. THE TRANSLATION.

(2) THE RENDERING OF GREEK GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

IN a former paper I discussed the degree of success attained by the Revisers in their rendering of Greek nouns and verbs. I shall now discuss their rendering of Greek inflexions and particles. My former paper embraced matters pertaining to the Lexicon; this paper will deal with those which belong to Grammar.

The subject now before us is both more difficult to discuss, because more indefinite, and less interesting and perhaps less important, than that of my earlier paper; for it consists chiefly of insignificant details scattered over almost every verse of the New Testament. Moreover, as it seems to me, in the matters now before us the New Version presents predominant excellences strangely associated with unaccountable defects. To form a reliable estimate of this element of the Revisers' work, is therefore exceedingly difficult. And to give satisfactory reasons for a general estimate is absolutely impossible. All I can attempt in this

paper is to take up a few elements in the Grammar of the New Testament, and describe and discuss their treatment by the Revisers. I shall say something now about their rendering of the article, the tenses of the verb, and certain prepositions; and in another paper I hope to discuss a few important passages, of which the rendering seems to me to demand special attention.

It must be admitted that the reasons given in my last paper for uniformity of rendering bear with less force upon the rendering of Greek grammatical forms; for these are not embodiments of definite and complete ideas. Yet, in consecutive verbs, repetition or change of tense is often significant. And the prepositions used in the New Testament frequently convey most important theological truth. We notice also that uniformity is possible or expedient to a much less extent with particles than with nouns and verbs: for particles are much more under the control of current modes of thought and expression. Consequently, the rendering of particles and inflexions and the order of words is less amenable to rules, and depends more upon the tact of the translator, than does the rendering of nouns and verbs.

The rendering of the Greek article is specially difficult. For, although the abstract significance of the article is the same in Greek as in English, namely, to mark out an idea as a definite object of thought, yet the practical usage of it is different. Indeed, in no two languages probably is it alike. For instance, with us, words or terms in the singular number expressing a definite idea must have the article, except words expressing an abstract idea, which do not admit the article: whereas the Greeks used the article only when they wished to call attention to the definiteness of the idea, and then they used it before any noun in singular or plural conveying a definite idea. Consequently, we are frequently compelled to use or omit the English article

where the Greeks did otherwise. These cases test severely the intelligence and tact of the translator. And frequently it is impossible to reproduce exactly the full significance of the presence or absence of the Greek article.

As an example of the above I may quote 1 Thessalonians v. 2, where we have no choice but to render *the day of the Lord*. We do so because the term *day of the Lord* conveys a definite idea. The Greeks omitted the article because the term itself was so definite that the article was needless, and because they wished to look at the idea conveyed by this definite term in its abstract quality as *a day*. This significance of the anarthrous noun cannot be reproduced in English.

In spite of these difficulties the Revisers have done good service by their treatment of the article. They have done good both by omitting and by replacing it.

To the ordinary reader 1 Peter iv. 11 means that the preacher's words must agree with the teaching of the Scriptures, and implies that these were called in the apostolic churches *the oracles of God*. The New Version gives the true sense, viz. that they who speak must look upon themselves *as oracles* or *mouthpieces of God*. Similarly *the gift*, in Verse 10, is corrected to *as each hath received a gift*.

In St. Matthew v. 1, *the mountain*¹ reproduces an idea which was definite to the first readers, but through our ignorance of the locality unknown to us. The article makes *the bushel* and *the lamp-stand* more graphic because more definite; recalling well-known articles of furniture found in every house. *The glorying* in Romans iii. 27 is the well-known Jewish boasting in good works and in the covenant of circumcision.

In many cases in which the article cannot be used in English, its force is well reproduced in the New Version by

¹ Compare Joshua ii. 22, which refers to the hill country west of Jericho.

a possessive pronoun. In 1 Corinthians iv. 5, not *every man* will have praise of God, but *each man shall have his praise, i.e.*, the praise due to him. So Ephesians i. 7, *we have our redemption*, the definite redemption ever present to our minds.

Good service has been done by replacing the article in 2 Corinthians iii. 17, *the Lord is the Spirit*, instead of *that Spirit*. After expressing a hope that the heart of Israel will turn to *the Lord*, St. Paul tells us that to turn to *the Lord* is to turn to *the Spirit*, and therefore brings liberty. Similarly, in John i. 21, 25, as a definite and simple designation of Him whom Moses¹ foretold, *the prophet* is better than *that prophet*.

Instances of gains similar to the above might be multiplied indefinitely.

At the same time it seems to me that the article has been needlessly and unwisely retained in a good many places, especially before plural nouns. In Romans i. 2 the absence of the article directs attention to the significance of the name by which the Sacred Books are called. They were *scriptures* or writings which were *holy, i.e.* specially belonging to God. This qualitative force of the anarthrous Greek noun ought never to be overlooked. It might in this case be reproduced by the rendering *in holy scriptures*. For a similar reason it would have been better to omit the article before *resurrection of the dead*. With singular perversity, in Romans i. 14, after omitting the article before *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, the New Version retains it before *wise* and *foolish*. As a better reproduction of the anarthrous plural masculine nouns and of the order of words I may quote my own rendering: *Both to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to wise men and to foolish, I am a debtor*. With similar, but more pardonable inconsistency, we have in Verses 16, 17, 18: *the power of God; a righteousness of God; the wrath of*

¹ Deut. xviii. 15. Compare also John vii. 40.

God, with a *wrath* in the margin. Of these words every possible rendering is open to objection; good English and exact rendering of the Greek sense are in hopeless conflict. Perhaps it would have been best to put before the last two nouns no article at all, and to render the first *a power of God*. In Romans iii. 5 the Revisers have overlooked an excellent rendering: *If our unrighteousness commendeth God's righteousness*. This would have reproduced not only the anarthrous noun but the emphatic position of the word *God*.

In a few cases the article has been retained with rather serious results. In Romans i. 3 the article before *flesh*, otherwise needless, was retained to keep company with that before *spirit*. But to this last word the article gives undue definiteness, and thus lends unfair support to the patristic exposition which understood by the *spirit of holiness* the Holy Ghost. The article before *spirit of adoption*, in Romans viii. 15, is the more remarkable because of its absence from a very similar passage, 2 Timothy i. 7. The rendering retained by the Revisers suggests that St. Paul had in mind some definite *spirit of bondage*; and on this suggestion, variously interpreted, much false theology has been built. Similarly, in St. Matthew ix. 13 the article suggests that Christ had in mind definite and actual righteous persons. I cannot understand why the Revisers overlooked the plain rendering: *I did not come to call righteous men, but sinners*. Similarly, in St. Matthew xi. 25, the rendering *didst hide these things from the wise and understanding* suggests that from all these the matters in question were hidden. Christ's words were quite indefinite; *from wise and understanding men*.

In a translation from the Greek, the English indefinite article must be used only with extreme caution. The words *a temple*, in 1 Corinthians iii. 16, vi. 19; 2 Corinthians vi. 16, suggest that there may be many temples of God, an idea

repugnant to the entire thought of the Bible and in no wise suggested by the anarthrous Greek noun. Of this last statement we have proof in 1 Corinthians vi. 10; 1 Thessalonians v. 2. In spite of the absence of the article, the old rendering *the temple* is safer.

In its rendering of the present tense of the Greek verb, especially in the participle, the New Version is somewhat better than its predecessor. The rendering *they that are perishing, us that are being saved*, in 1 Corinthians i. 18; 2 Corinthians ii. 15; Acts ii. 47, certainly gives the Greek sense, and keeps before us the apostolic and salutary teaching that, while on earth, our salvation is only in process, and that the ruin of the unsaved is already begun and ever progressing. This gain may, I think, reconcile us to these uncouth phrases.

The force of the present participle ought at any cost to have been reproduced in text or margin of Hebrews x. 26, where the truth of the assertion turns upon the tense. It is only for those who *are sinning wilfully* that *there remaineth no more sacrifice* for sins. For, *if any man sin*, i.e. have committed sin, *we have an Advocate with the Father*.¹ To reproduce the exact force of the aorist in this latter passage is probably impossible. But certainly the contrasted force of the aorist in the former one should have been brought out. With strange inconsistency, while rendering correctly the present participle in Hebrews x. 26 by the hypothetical *if we sin*, the present participle in Chapter vi. 6 is so rendered in the text as to give to this very similar passage a false and very terrible significance. The authorised rendering of this verse, which the Revisers retain, has been a stumbling block to many. The writer evidently means that so long as the persons referred to, *those who were once enlightened and fell away*, are *crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh*, it is impossible to renew

¹ 1 John ii. 1.

them again unto repentance. The margin gives the true sense. But why we have *the while*, instead of simply *while*, I cannot understand. A more literal rendering would be, *while crucifying, etc.*

The new rendering of the aorist and perfect tenses now demands attention. Already, in a series of papers in Vol. xi. of the First Series of this Magazine, I have endeavoured to shew that the Greek aorist occupies the whole ground which in English is divided between the preterite and perfect, and that each of these tenses may always be correctly rendered into Greek, but with some loss of significance, by the aorist; and that the Greek perfect conveys the whole sense of the aorist, adding to it however the sense of abiding results or significance. In support of this distinction I appealed to the ablest grammarians of the Continent, and to the use of the tenses in the New Testament. I also pointed out that, although we have no English tense in the active voice which conveys the full sense of the Greek perfect, we have a fair equivalent in the passive, and especially in the neuter, forms, *I am made, I am come.*

The Revisers betray a complete satisfaction, in my view an altogether misplaced satisfaction, with the form *I have written* as a rendering of the Greek perfect. This is, unfortunately, the best rendering we have for it in the active voice; but it always falls sadly below the grand significance of this remarkable tense. And the Revisers are nervously anxious to use this rendering, in both active and passive moods, even in places where it gives uncouth English, and where the change does nothing to reproduce the sense of the Greek tense. The rendering *hath been raised* in 1 Corinthians xv. 4, 20, would have been better in the margin, with the more euphonious *is risen* in the text. In the former verse, this latter rendering would have sufficiently marked the very significant change of tense.

This marginal notation of the perfect has been adopted in Hebrews xi. 17, 28, where we have the preterite in the text. But it is doubtful whether the ordinary reader will gain anything by the marginal notes. Less correctly, in Revelation v. 7 we have the English present in the text and the perfect in the margin. In St. Matthew xiii. 46 the Revisers have wisely refrained from attempting to note the significance of the perfect. In all these cases the Greek tense has its full sense.¹

That the Revisers are in many cases compelled to render the Greek aorist by the English perfect, gives them evident trouble. They seem to suppose that this rendering obliterates the distinction of the cases. So great is their despair that in many cases of passive or neuter verbs, because they cannot use the preterite, they tolerate the objectionable rendering *it is written*, etc., which ought to be retained, with one or two special exceptions,² for the Greek perfect. Thus we find the aorist rendered *is justified*, instead of *has been justified*, in St. Matthew xi. 19; *is excluded* instead of *has been shut out* in Romans iii. 27; *we are come*, art *Thou come*, in St. Matthew ii. 2, viii. 29, instead of *we have come*, etc.; *her hour is come* in St. John xvi. 21 instead of *has come*; *the night is far spent* in Romans xiii. 12, instead of *has far advanced*; and numberless similar renderings.

In a few cases however the Revisers have done good service by a skilful reproduction of the distinction between the Greek tenses now before us. For instance, in Philipians iii. 12 they adopt the very excellent rendering of Dean Alford: *Not that I have already obtained or am already made perfect*. Also very good is 1 Corinthians xiii. 11, *Now that I am become a man*.

¹ See THE EXPOSITOR, *First Series*, vol. xi. pp. 302, 305.

² See my rendering of St. Mark v. 35 in THE EXPOSITOR, *First Series*, vol. xi. p. 298.

The theory of the Greek tenses adopted by the Revisers, which is adopted also, I am compelled to admit, by most English scholars, viz. that the English preterite and perfect correspond in their essential significance to the Greek aorist and perfect, makes them naturally eager to render the aorist by our preterite whenever the latter will make good English. By so doing they have sometimes, by the change they have adopted, given a new and wrong sense. For instance, the rendering *Did God cast off his people* in Romans xi. 1 suggests a reference to the days of Isaiah referred to in the previous verse; whereas it is evident that St. Paul refers to the men of his own day. This example warns us not to render the "indefinite" Greek tense by the definite English preterite without careful examination whether this rendering will give to the Greek verb a wrong reference. It seems to me that the rendering *were hardened* in 2 Corinthians iii. 14 is incorrect: for it makes the word thus rendered refer to the men of Moses' day; whereas the context leads me to believe that St. Paul is thinking of the unbelieving Jews of his own day, who are the chief matter of the whole paragraph. This is one of the many passages in which the translator is compelled, by the difference of the languages, to become also an expositor; and a translator's tact and skill are never more severely tested than in such cases. The easiest way would have been to put either *were hardened* or *have been hardened* in the text, and the other in the margin.

The renderings *quicken'd us, rais'd us up, made us sit*, in Ephesians ii. 5, 6, are better than the old rendering, as recalling the aorists in Chapter i. 20, which doubtless St. Paul had in mind. But perhaps it would have been better to keep the old rendering in the margin. The new rendering on 2 Corinthians v. 14, *one died for all, therefore all died*, is an indisputable and great gain. The

Apostle means that, through the death of Christ, our old life of selfishness has come to an end.

The well-known use of the aorist to denote the entrance into the state denoted by the present tense seems to have been overlooked by the Revisers. In Revelation xix. 6 we have *the Lord our God reigneth*, instead of *hath become king*. And, still worse, in 1 Corinthians iv. 8 we have *ye have reigned without us*, instead of *apart from us ye have become kings*. Similarly, in Mark iii. 21; 2 Corinthians v. 13, instead of *he has gone out of his mind*, we have *he is beside himself*. In the latter of these passages we have in the margin the incorrect sense *we were beside ourselves*.

Looking at it as a whole, I am compelled to say that I do not see that the rendering of the Greek aorist and perfect tenses is much better in the New than in the Old Version. There are not a few indisputable improvements, but these are counterbalanced by a few deteriorations, and by not a few cases in which, without any perceptible gain, the Revisers have given us very uncouth English.

A few words now about the new rendering of some important Greek prepositions. By using the word *through* as the usual rendering of *διά*, in text or margin, the Revisers have done a service far greater than appears at first sight. They thus remind us, in St. Matthew i. 22 and very many places, that *the prophet* was but the mouthpiece *through* which God spake to men. Equally valuable is the same rendering of the same Greek preposition to represent the relation of Christ to the work of salvation. Of this use, the classic example is 1 Corinthians viii. 6: *Through whom are all things, and we through Him*. The careful student of the Epistles of St. Paul will note the immense gain of this apparently slight change.

The Revisers' use of the word *in* as a rendering of *ἐν* is in some cases open to question. Indeed, not only is it

impossible to find a constant English equivalent for this Greek preposition, but to determine its true significance is in many cases very difficult. And the difficulty is increased by the influence, hard to measure, which the corresponding Hebrew or Aramaic preposition exerted upon the thought and expression of the writers of the New Testament. At the same time, the reproduction of St. Paul's all-important and favourite phrase *in Christ*, which is much more frequent in the New than in the Old Version, is an incalculable gain.

The Revisers have been guilty of a sad oversight in the rendering *under the law*, instead of *in the law*, in Romans iii. 19 and 1 Corinthians ix. 21, thus obliterating in the latter passage the contrast with Verse 20. The words *under the law*, which pourtray the law as a burden or yoke, are never used of the Christian.

The frequent use made by the Revisers of the obsolete and, to many readers, almost unmeaning word *unto* as the usual rendering in certain connexions of the preposition *εἰς* and of the dative case is, in my view, a serious blemish in their work. They not only retain it where they might have used a more intelligible word, but sometimes use it where the Authorised Version has a better rendering. A bad example is 2 Corinthians v. 13: *Whether we are beside ourselves, it is unto God; or whether we are of sober mind, it is unto you*. I am sure that to very many readers the phrases *unto God* and *unto you*, and the similar phrases in Verse 15 and in Romans vi. 10, 11, are either quite unmeaning or give a wrong meaning. Surely it would have been better to say, *for God, for you, not for themselves but for Him who died*. Certainly the authorised rendering of Colossians i. 16, *all things are created by Him and for Him*, which is retained by Alford and Ellicott, is infinitely better than the new obscure rendering *all things have been created unto Him*. How a majority of two-thirds was obtained to

outvote in this matter the learned Chairman of the committee, I cannot conceive.

The retention of the word *of* as a frequent rendering of the prepositions ὑπο and ἐξ, casts a needless veil of indefiniteness over many passages. Fortunately we have now, in St. Matthew i. 22, ii. 15, *spoken by the Lord through the prophet*, instead of *spoken of the Lord by the prophet*. But we still have, in Chapter ii. 12, *warned of God in a dream*; in Chapter iv. 1, *then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil*; in Chapter iii. 13, *unto John, to be baptized of him*; and so frequently. In 1 Corinthians viii. 6 we have *one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto Him*. Can any one deny that the sense would have been better reproduced by *from whom are all things, and we for Him*?

Similarly in Romans xi. 36 we have, *Of Him . . . and unto Him are all things*; where we ought to have had *from Him and for Him*. But we have a good change in St. John xvi. 13, where we now read *he shall not speak from himself*, instead of *speak of himself*.

In spite of sufficient explanation of their origin, I cannot think that ungrammatical phrases ought to be tolerated in what is designed to be essentially an English book. No English writer would say now, *where moth and rust doth consume*; *who is my mother and my brethren*; *whose is the adoption, and the glory*, etc. I can see nothing gained by these breaches of grammar; and the mere fact that they need explanation is an objection to them.

After all these strictures it will be difficult to persuade my readers that I consider the New Version to be, even in its rendering of Greek particles and grammatical forms, a real improvement on the Authorised Version; but this is certainly my opinion. In a great variety of small details, which unitedly have great worth, I notice alterations for the better. Naturally, in such a paper as this I call

attention to defects, while passing in silence over a multitude of excellences.

The chief failure of the Revisers seems to me to be in their use of their own language as an instrument for reproducing the sense which the writers of the New Testament intended their words to convey. They have not always been apt in choosing the words which best fit the original Greek, and in so putting them together as to make good English : but even in this difficult task their successes far exceed their failures.

In another paper I hope to discuss the new rendering of a few passages of special importance or special difficulty.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE VISION OF ISAIAH.

ISAIAH vi. 8-13.

III. THE SUMMONS.

WHEN Isaiah was caught up into the world invisible, the world above life and beyond death, he had a vision of the unchanging and eternal realities which underlie the change-ful phenomena of time ;

He passed the flaming bounds of Place and Time ;
 The Living Throne, the sapphire blaze
 Where Angels tremble while they gaze,
 He saw.

He saw that God was the true King of men, not Uzziah, nor any of the princes who sat on the throne of David. He saw that the sin of man was no unforeseen accident or lapse, that it was known in heaven before it polluted the earth. He saw that, in his love, God had provided for it—provided a sacrifice from before the foundation of the world by which the iniquity of man would be taken away, his sin purged. And he saw that the end of the

long conflict between the impure will of man and the pure and kindly will of God would be the redemption of the human race; that, at last, the whole earth would be filled with the glory of a Divine holiness.

So much we have already learned from our brief study of this Chapter. And now we have to ask: For what end was this vision vouchsafed to the Prophet, and what effect did it produce upon him? The answer to that question is obvious. The vision came to *make* him a prophet, to call and to consecrate him to the great task of his life. He saw the King, that he might serve the King. He was convinced of sin, that he might convince his fellows. He was purged from his iniquity, that he might proclaim the love, the sacrifice, which takes away the iniquity of us all. He foresaw the triumph of the Divine Holiness, that he might labour to secure that triumph. These "eternal truths" became "present facts" to him, in order that he might make them present and influential facts to Israel and to us.

Let us observe, however, in what form this call to a Divine service reached him,—not immediately and imperatively, but indirectly and invitingly. No sooner is he fitted for service than he hears a Divine voice, asking: "*Whom* shall I send, and *who* will go for us?" It is not till Isaiah freely offers himself for the work that God bids him to go and tell what he has seen, teach what he has learned. We should wholly mistake the point, and miss the very lesson it has to teach, did we infer from this inquiry that there was any lack of ministers who were willing to fly on the errands of the King, or that Jehovah was perplexed as to which of them He should choose and send. What we really have here is an illustration of one of the standing laws of the kingdom of heaven. When the hour has come and the man, when a task is waiting and men are qualified to discharge it, God commonly asks.

“Who will undertake it?” He does not thrust them on a service for which they are unwilling or unprepared. He leaves them to choose their task, to volunteer for his service, in order *that, while serving Him, they may have all the grace and freedom of voluntary action.* This, I say, is a law of the Divine service. God prepares a man for the work; He prepares a work for the man: and then He leaves the man to find out the work and undertake it of his own freewill,—not compelling him into it by outward and forcible constraints, but drawing him toward it by the inward and gracious compulsions which spring from his own ability to do it, and his own sense of the need that it should be done.

Isaiah had just been raised to the open vision of God, to a vivid perception of the Divine holiness, to a profound conviction that it is God who rules the lives and destinies of men, and that the aim of his rule is that the whole earth may be filled with his glory. By this vision he had been convinced of sin, of righteousness, of judgment to come. He had been constrained to confess and renounce his sin. His iniquity had been taken away. Of all who stood in the heavenly temple he, therefore, was best fitted to speak of God's righteousness to sinful men, to warn them of the judgments their sins had provoked, to invite them to repentance, to assure them that there was forgiveness with God. For what had God cleansed him, save that he should carry tidings of the cleansing and redeeming love of God to all who were still unclean? Why had his eyes been opened on the eternal realities, save that he should help to open the eyes of those who were still blind to them? For what had he been quickened to a new and nobler life, save that he should convey the power of that life to those who were still dead in trespasses and sins? Not for his own sake alone had God given him the vision and the faculty divine, the power of climbing by altar-

stairs of type and symbol into the temple which holds the ideals and archetypes of all that is fair and good on earth, of looking through the shadows of time to the eternal substances which cast them: not for his own sake alone, but also for the sake of the ungifted myriads who wandered through the darkness with aimless feet, with eyes that saw not, ears that heard not, hearts that did not understand.

We, in like manner, are bound to proclaim the true King of men, if at least we too have seen Him sitting on the throne high and lifted up. If we have been cleansed from sin by virtue of the Sacrifice offered up once for all, we too have a commission to the unclean. Nay, we cannot have had any true vision of the things that are unseen and eternal, if we do not "declare the vision." No true life has been quickened within us, if that life is not uttering and manifesting itself through us. Our lips have not been cleansed if we exert and diffuse no cleansing influence. Even when He who is our life went into a house "and would have no man know it," He "could not be hid." And if Christ has been formed in us, He must reveal Himself in our altered and purer lives. He is light, and in Him is no darkness at all; and light must shine, shine the more evidently the thicker is the darkness into which it is borne.

It is not at our option, therefore, to refrain from service, if at least we have seen God and died—died to sin, if we have seen God and live—live unto righteousness. But our service is often marred by our ignorance or our forgetfulness of the law here revealed. We wait to have our work marked out for us and thrust upon us; or we wait for some stirring call to a conspicuous and difficult task; and, while waiting, we let occasion slip. Let us understand and bear in mind, then, that God does not, as a rule, mark out the special task we are to do for Him with a precision which

excludes all possibility of mistake ; nor does He constrain us to undertake it by compulsions which we could not resist without utterly breaking from his service. He fits us for a work : He puts the work in our way ; and then He leaves us both to find it out, and to find out that it is ours. Nay, He often permits us to doubt whether it is ours, to distrust our fitness for the special task that falls in our way, or to see more tasks than one, all of which seem to have equal claims upon us, although we cannot possibly undertake them all. He leaves us to discover for what we are fit, to weigh the claims of the several tasks which appeal to us, and to make our own election. And He thus leaves us to ourselves, not because He is unwilling to help us, but because He is fain to help us in the best way,—so help us as to train and strengthen our judgment ; so help us that we may serve and yet be free, that we may serve and *therefore* be free. When we are admitted to his presence and quickened to a perception of the true realities and the true aims of life, God does not undertake to do our thinking for us, nor our willing and choosing. Rather He compels us to think for ourselves, that we may discover what his Will for us is, and bring our wills into accord with his. Because He would have us men and freemen, not automata or slaves, He still asks, “ *Who* will go for us, and whom shall I send ? ”

Let us remember, too, that not always, nor often, does God invite us to do some *great* thing for Him. Isaiah volunteered to go to his own people, his own neighbours, and to try, with his cleansed lips, to make their lips clean. And though at times he had to rebuke princes and to pronounce the doom of nations, yet it was his whole life which he dedicated to God, with all its petty details of daily conduct. It was part of his work to live with the prophetess he took to wife according to a Divine law, to name and train his children so that little Immanuel

and little Maher-shalal-hash-baz should be "for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts."

And, in like manner, God sends us to our own people, to our kinsfolk and acquaintance. We have been cleansed that we may cleanse them. And we are not to wait for great opportunities which seldom come, which may never come to us, and for which we might not prove fit if they did come. We are to endeavour so to order our whole life by a Divine law that, even in the trivial round and common task, we may shew that we have taken God for our King, and that we delight to do his will. It is by this constant and patient heed to the little things of daily conduct that we are gradually to build up a character and life wholly consecrated to Him; and if we do but take the trivial occasions for self-conquest and self-denial, for resisting evil and doing good, which every day affords, we may safely leave God to link on day to day, and duty to duty, and to draw all our poor and imperfect acts of service into the large and effectual ministry by which He is teaching and saving the world.

This, then, is our high calling and vocation,—to live for God, so that our very lives may speak for Him. To this service we are invited to volunteer, that, while serving, we may be free. For this service, if only we choose it, God qualifies us by revealing to us the sacred and abiding realities which underlie all the shadows and changes of time. And, indeed, the service is often so hard, and appears to be so unsuccessful, that we cannot hope to be steadfast in it unless we see all that Isaiah saw, and share his strong persuasion that God rules over all and rules all for good. If we would understand what the difficulties of this Divine service are, and where lies our hope of being faithful to it, we have but to consider the task which the Prophet was called to undertake, and the motives which secured his fidelity.

How ominous and foreboding were the very terms of his commission. Kindled to ardent devotion by his vision of the King, the Lord of Hosts, he eagerly offered himself for service. If God will but deign to send him on any errand, how gladly would he go upon it! One is tempted to surmise that, had he foreseen the message he was sent to deliver, he would hardly have been so eager to carry it. "Go," says God, "Go thou, and tell this people, Hear on, and understand not; and look on, but perceive not: make the heart of this people fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes rheumy, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and should be converted and be healed." To speak to those who would not listen, and shew them truths they would not see; to know beforehand that, by resisting his message, they would but harden themselves in their iniquity: this was the task and burden imposed on the youthful Prophet. Could any task be more appalling and hopeless? To be called to a ministry doomed to failure from the first: could any fate be more sad and dark than that? Yet this was the ministry to which Isaiah was summoned, or seemed to be summoned, by the Vision whose splendour had raised him above all the fears of the flesh, all the lures and shows of time.

Was, then, the God who had shewn Himself so gracious to *him*, about to shew Himself hard and ungracious to all but him? Was his mercy to Isaiah only a caprice, not an illustration of his way with men? Did his resolve to harden and destroy a nation which He no longer deigns to call "*My* people," of whom He speaks with a certain disdain as "*This* people,"—did this resolve reveal his true character, the constant bent and disposition of his mind towards men?

Well, if Isaiah did not infer God to be hard and austere, bent on the perdition rather than on the salvation of men,

Christian theologians have abundantly supplied his omission. From the very message which Isaiah was commissioned to deliver, they have inferred the vast majority of their fellows to be reprobate, and have even charged God Himself with inflicting a "judicial blindness" upon them, which left them no chance of repentance, no hope of salvation. Were an angel out of heaven, instead of a theologian from Geneva, to preach this "gospel of damnation," we could not but reject it, so utterly is it opposed to the character and word of God. If *He* were bent on making the heart of Israel fat, if it were by his decree that they sank into a moral insensibility which rendered judgment inevitable, why did He give them his law? Why utter remonstrance on remonstrance, invitation on invitation? Why vouchsafe to Isaiah, and through Isaiah to them, this sublime vision of a better temple, with its eternal sacrifice, its celestial ministrants, its cleansing and redeeming pain? If, in place of fixing our attention on a single sentence, we take the general drift of revelation, whether in the Bible at large, or in any single Scripture, or even in this vision of Isaiah, it is simply impossible for us to think of God as blinding the men He did so much to enlighten and to save; we can only conclude that it was they themselves who hardened themselves by resisting the warnings and invitations of his grace.

To men and to nations there comes a crisis in which they must either lose all they have gained; or, by changing their moral attitude and retracing their erring steps, fit themselves for further service and progress. If they will not hearken to the warnings of the Divine Providence, if they harden and settle themselves in ways that are not good, by the very law of their nature they grow more and more insensible to all the influences by which God seeks to cleanse and reclaim them. Shakespeare has stated this law of human life in the words he puts into the mouth

of the great Roman captain, who had ruined himself and his cause by his addiction to vice and luxury :—

“ When we in our viciousness grow hard,
O misery on’t ! the wise gods seel our eyes ;
In our own filth drop our clear judgments ; make us
Adore our errors ; laugh at us while we strut
To our own confusion.”

But even the debased Roman did not charge the guilt of his folly on the wise gods ; the blame and shame were his, for not having ruled his life by a Divine law. And shall we blame Jehovah because the Jews grew hard in their own viciousness, because the eyes they would not open became sealed, because they adored their own errors, and strutted on to their own confusion ? Isaiah was sent to warn them of the gulf which yawned across the path on which they were walking ; but to warn men of a gulf they are blindly approaching,—is that to thrust them into it ? is it not rather to do all one can to save them from it ?

And yet what can be more sad and dreadful than to stand and warn men in vain ? to see them approaching the giddy verge of ruin deaf to the most piercing remonstrance, the most tender appeals ? Isaiah’s mission might well have seemed to him too hard for mortal strength. And it would have been too hard but for this heavenly vision. Because he had seen God and had been sent by God, he knew that, whatever the issue of his ministry might be, he was at least doing the will of God. If his ministry must be an unsuccessful one, better, far better, that he should know it from the first. Had he not foreknown it, had he laboured on till “ towns were wasted and men carried away,” till “ farm after farm was forsaken, and city after city laid desolate ” (Verses 11, 12), would he not utterly have lost heart ? would he not have felt that he must have mistaken his vocation, that he was of no use, that he was serving neither God nor man ? Nothing could well have saved

him from despair but the fact that God had forewarned him of the failure of his mission, and yet had bidden him discharge it. For so long as a man is sure that he is doing the will of God he cannot altogether lose heart, however inauspicious his conditions may be, however unfruitful his toils. If Isaiah had no other comfort as he saw Israel growing blind, and deaf, and hard by its resistance to his appeals, he had at least this comfort, that he was running on God's errand, delivering God's message, carrying out God's purpose, and witnessing the very issues which God had foretold.

But he had far other and better comfort than this. For not only was he doing God's will ; he knew what God's will was. He had seen *the end* of the Lord ; and hence he knew God's will to be, not the perdition, but the salvation of man. God had forgiven *him*, although he was a man of unclean lips : why should He not forgive others whose lips were unclean ? The Seraphim had declared that the end to and for which God was working through all the changes of time was to fill the whole earth with the glory of his holiness. To secure that end, it might be inevitable that incorrigible men, or nations even, should suffer and perish ; but if their very sufferings were designed to correct and purge them, if the loss of the man or of the people were to be the gain of the world ; if, in short, it was really the purpose of God to steep the whole earth in the splendour of his own holiness, all might be borne with patience and with hope.

And that this was God's end even in the judgments which were about to waste and desolate the land of Judah there could be no doubt ; for the message or commission given to the Prophet, though it opened so sternly, closed with words full of promise and grace. If the sinful nation was to be cut down like a terebinth or an oak, yet a stock was to be left, a sacred germ, from which a new and

happier growth should spring forth (Verse 13, *Hebrew*). All the miseries and calamities provoked by their sins were designed to make them, and at last must make them, what they professed to be,—a holy nation, a people of priests, zealous in all good works. They might retard the process; but the end of God must be reached, his purpose carried out, in them and in all men. God would yet bring his many sons to glory, making them perfect through suffering.

Was there not hope, strength, comfort for the Prophet in this gracious revelation and promise? That could not be an altogether unsuccessful ministry which carried out the will of God, even though it won no converts among men. That could not be an altogether unhappy ministry which carried out a will so pure and so beneficent. At times, no doubt, Isaiah saddened into despondency, and cried, “Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?” But, as a rule, he speaks with composure and hope, even when he has to denounce the most terrible judgments. His writings reveal him to us, indeed, as a man of a singularly noble and serene spirit, as habitually looking forward to that golden age in which all men shall know the Lord from the least unto the greatest, and sing as they walk in the way of his commandments. No one of the prophets has left us so many descriptions of that age, or descriptions of it so full of charm, so inspiriting and joyful.

And if any should ask, How was it that in times so dark, and which grew ever darker, with the whole land reeling under earthquake, devastated by invasion, decimated by pestilence and famine, Isaiah maintained his serenity of spirit? we can only point to the vision by which he was consecrated to the prophetic function, and to its revelation of the gracious purpose which God is still pursuing even when his judgments are abroad in the earth. By this vision Isaiah was lifted into

“ that blessed mood
 In which the burden and the mystery,
 In which the heavy and the weary weight
 Of all this unintelligible world
 Is lightened ; ”

and in which

“ With an eye made quick by the power
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
 We see into the life of things.”

Had he seen only king Uzziah and the princes who succeeded him, or only the temple whose very priests ministered “ with hands full of blood ” ; had he, in short, been left to spell out the mystery of human life for himself, in times so corrupt and calamitous he might well have been shaken with many fears and devoured by a rooted sorrow. But he had also seen the Lord of hosts sitting on the throne of the world ; he had stood in the heavenly temple with its eternal sacrifice ; he had been taught that the world was spinning down grooves of change to its final rest in God ; that men are to rise from sin, through suffering, to holiness. And, therefore, he was calm and hopeful in the wildest storm of judgment. All would yet be well, all must be well ; for by their very calamities God was purging men from their uncleanness, and preparing them for the glory that is to fill the earth.

Now it is precisely here, it is in holding fast to the convictions which were the strength of Isaiah’s heart, that *we* shall find strength to do God’s will. The work to which He has called us is often hard, well nigh intolerable. To speak for Him in our daily life, to eliminate all in us that is contrary to his high will, to do all we do as for Him, that we may win our neighbours to an obedience like our own,—is not that hard ? hard in itself ? and harder still because we have so little success in it ? Are we not apt to say, “ I am sick of these vain endeavours after a righteousness I

shall never reach. Even if I were to reach it, still what could I do for others? The best men do but little. The world is not to be cleansed and raised. With my utmost efforts I can hardly influence a single soul for good. My own life is hardly any the better for all my endeavours, and no other life is permanently or greatly the better for them." Probably we have all had such despairing thoughts as these, and have yielded to them. Need I say how keenly and constantly they cut the hearts of those who, in addition to speaking for God in their daily life, are also called to speak for Him with tongue or pen?

Where, then, are we to look for comfort and hope? Not assuredly in any attempt to persuade ourselves that we are better than we are, or that we have done more good than we know. Let us take the matter at its worst. Let us grant that we are but little better than we were, and that our neighbours are but little the better for all that we have said and done. What then? Are we therefore to abandon our endeavours after holiness, after usefulness? Never: for, like Isaiah, we are doing the will of God. It is his will that we should constantly renew our effort, though it should fail, or seem to fail. It is his will that we should speak for Him by the life He has quickened in us and the lip He has cleansed, even though those to whom we speak will not hear. In this dark confused world *that* is often our only point of light. Shall we not, then, keep it ever before us, and struggle on toward it? What better thing than the will of God can we any of us be doing or trying to do? Better to fail at that than to succeed in all else.

And yet we need not fail; or, if we fail, we need not lose courage and hope. If *our* purpose change, the purpose of God changeth not. If we fail, He must succeed. Faith in Him, faith in his will and his goodwill,—this is what we want most of all. Could we but see what Isaiah saw, God sitting on the throne and compelling the very sins of men

and the very judgments of Heaven to work together for good ; could we but see what the Seraphim saw, the whole earth filling with the glory of a holiness before whose pure splendours even they must veil their faces with their wings, —who would talk of failure, whose heart would be clouded and torn with fear?

In fine, if we would be strong in hope, whether for ourselves or for the world at large, we must rise, with Isaiah, into the holiest of all, into the secret place of the tabernacle of the Most High ; we must listen, with St. John, to those holy voices which sing day and night without ceasing : “ Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and He Himself shall be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes ; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying ; neither shall there be any more pain.”

S. Cox.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THEIR BEARING ON THE OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

XIII. MENAHEM AND PUL.

THE name of the next Assyrian king, the “ Pul ” of 2 Kings xv. 19 ; 1 Chronicles v. 26, who appears in Biblical history, presents a problem on which there is as yet no approach to agreement among Assyrian scholars. It does not appear in the inscriptions, and the one point in which all are of one mind is, that there being no name in them of this monosyllabic, uncompounded character, we must regard it as being, like the Shalman of Hosea x. 14, an abbreviated form. On the question what name it represents we have very conflicting hypotheses.

(1) Lenormant (*Anc. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 388), assuming, with Oppert and Dr. Hincks, a capture and destruction of Nineveh in 789 B.C., under a luxurious and effeminate king, Asshur-likhish (B.C. 800-789), whom he identifies with the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, by the united force of the Chaldeans under Belesu (Phul Balazu the terrible one), and the Medes under Arbaces, sees in the former the Babylonian head of a later Assyrian Empire, identifies him with the Pul of the Jewish records, rests in the fact that no inscriptions of his reign have been found, and looks on the facts mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 19 (1 Chron. v. 26), that he invaded Israel and made the usurper Menahem pay a tribute of 1000 talents of silver, and carried away part of the population of the Trans-jordanic tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, to "Halah and Habor and Hara, and the river Gozan," as all that is known of his reign.

(2) Rawlinson (*Smith's Dict. of Bible*, art. *Pul*), on the other hand, rejects the theory of an earlier Medo-Chaldean capture of Nineveh before its final overthrow under Assur-Banipal, in B.C. 606, and finds the equivalent of Pul in an Assyrian whose name is read somewhat doubtfully as Iva-Lush, or Vul-Lush, or Vul-Nirari, and who reigned from B.C. 800 to B.C. 750, after the Shalmaneser whom we have seen as contemporary with Jehu, and before the succession of Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, Senacherib, and Esar-haddon. In the Hebrew Pul, and yet more in the LXX. form of Phalos, or Phaloch, he finds a natural corruption of one or other of the three forms given above. The inscriptions of this king, whose wife bore the name of Semiramis, and was probably a Babylonian princess, record his capture of Damascus, and his receiving tribute from Medes, Armenians, Phœnicians, *Samaritans*, *Damascenes*, Philistines and Edomites. This it will be seen agrees with what is recorded of the Biblical Pul; and

Professor Rawlinson sees in Menahem's attack on Tiphseh (Thapsacus, on the ford of the Euphrates, 1 Kings iv. 24; 2 Kings xv. 16) an act of rebellion, the object of the attack being to recover the boundary of Solomon's kingdom, which led to the Assyrian king's invasion. Menahem, we find, submitted, paid a tribute of 1000 talents of silver, and was then "confirmed" by Pul in his kingdom.

(3) Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assurs*, pp. 132, 142) conjectures that Pul is an abbreviated form of Tiglath-Pileser, a predecessor of the Biblical king, and connects this with an inscription of the second, or fourth, king of that name, recording the fact that he received tribute from "Minikhimmi (Menahem) of Samirina (Shimron or Samaria), and Azrijahu (Azariah) of Judah." It seems however, unlikely that the shorter and fuller forms of the same name should be used by the same writers in the same chapter, as they are in 2 Kings xv. 19, 29; 1 Chronicles v. 26. It may be added that the Chronicle of Alexander Polyhistor, which professes to be based upon Berosus, the Chaldean historian, gives Phul as the name of a Chaldean king who was succeeded by Senacherib; but the date of the two writers makes it probable that they were reproducing what they found in the Jewish records, and deprives their testimony of any independent value. On the whole, and with all the reserve which in such a case is necessary, it seems that, until further evidence presents itself, the theory adopted by Rawlinson has in its favour a balance of probabilities. Schrader, it may be added (*Keilinschriften Assyriens*, pp. 422-460), accepts the identification of Pul with Tiglath-Pileser, whom inscriptions name as both "king of Babylon" and "king of Assyria," as the most tenable hypothesis.

XIV. ISRAEL, JUDAH, SYRIA AND TIGLATH-PILESER.

It lay in the nature of the case that the intervention of a great power like Assyria in the affairs of the smaller

kingdoms of Syria and Palestine, should bring about relations which became gradually more and more complicated. There are traces of that intervention, as we have seen, in the reign of Jehu. With less certainty, we may say that the Assyrian inscriptions shew that they had begun in the reign even of Ahab. In the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II., the king who records his receiving tribute from Jehu, we find the name of the king of Israel. "1200 chariots, 1200 magazines, and 20,000 men of Rimmon-Hidri" (probably the kingly title of the Biblical *Benhadad* or *Benhadar*) "of Damascus, 700 chariots, 700 magazines, and 10,000 men of Irkhuleni of Hamath, and 2000 chariots and 10,000 men of Akhahbu (*Ahab*) of the country of the Israelites," are named as allied against Assyria, and as defeated by Shalmaneser (*R. P.*, iii. 99). Between the death of Ahab and the accession of Jehu there was an interval but of twelve years; and as the reign of Shalmaneser II. is reckoned by Assyriologists as lasting for thirty-five, it is quite possible that in his earlier years he may have received tribute from Ahab, and in his later, as we have seen, from Jehu. The fact of an earlier intercourse with an actual son of Omri would make it natural to address the latter by the same title, just as another king, Bin Nirari, a successor of this Shalmaneser, describes the country over which Jehu ruled as the land of Omri (Schrader, *Keilinschr.*, p. 7). Sargon at a later date uses the same language, and another inscription connects Samirina (Samaria) with the "whole land of Omri" (*Ibid.*, p. 8.) As we thus trace a connexion between the kingdom of the Ten Tribes and Assyria at a date earlier than that which the history of the Old Testament brings before us, so we also find that there had been a like connexion between Assyria and Judah. Ahaz was not the first king of the house of David who acknowledged the suzerainty of the great ruler of the city on the Tigris.

In an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser IV., (II. ?), part of which has been already quoted in the 12th of these studies, we find a record which implies a war with Azariah (Uzziah). Fragmentary as it is, assuming the name to be read rightly, it warrants the inference that it records a conquest. I quote from Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, (pp. 275-277).

“ . . . course of my expedition the tribute of the kings
 . . . Azariah of Judah, like a . . .
 . . . Azariah of Judah, in . . .
 . . . without number to high heaven were raised . . .
 . . . in their eyes which as from heaven . . .
 . . . was, and subdue the feet . . .
 . . . of the great army of Assyria they heard and their heart
 feared . . .
 . . . their cities I pulled down, destroyed . . .
 . . . to Azariah turned and strengthened him, and . . .
 . . . like an arch . . .
 . . . fighting . . .
 . . . he cleared his camp . . .
 . . . were placed, and his exit . . .
 . . . he brought down and . . .
 . . . his soldiers he drew together . . .

 Judah . . .
 . . . of Azariah, my hand greatly captured
 * * * * *

The cities of Ellitarb and Litanu

. Nineteen districts
 of Hamath, and the cities which were round them, which are beside
 the sea of the setting sun, in sin and defiance to Azariah had
 turned, . . .
 to the boundaries of Assyria I added, and my generals governors
 over them I appointed.”

It is obvious that though the Biblical narrative records none of these events, there is nothing in it inconsistent with them. Uzziah's long reign of fifty-two years, for the most part a victorious and prosperous reign, may have been

clouded towards its close, not only by the leprosy which followed on his attempt to usurp the office of the priesthood, but by disasters from without. And it was in the thirty-ninth year of his reign that Menahem, who paid his tribute to Pul, the king of Assyria (2 Kings xv. 19), began to reign, in the last year that Pekah, who witnessed the captivity of the eastern and northern tribes, ascended the throne of Israel (2 Kings xv. 27, 28). Whether, according to the varying theories of Assyriologists, we assume the identity of Pul with Tiglath-Pileser II., or look upon him as the predecessor of that king, it was in either case probable that the latter should have been led to extend his operations to Judah as well as Israel. The warlike character of Uzziah's policy, his fortifications and military engines, his strength and arrogance, quite fall in with the picture drawn in the Assyrian king's inscription, of one who wished to make himself the centre of a confederacy of the nations west of the Euphrates, which should have for its object to stay the onward march of the Assyrian armies. The attempt was, as we have seen, frustrated; and though the comparatively short reign of Jotham was marked by some conquests over the Ammonites, and by defensive measures, such as the erection of fortresses on the mountains of Judah (2 Chron. xxvii. 1-6), there was probably no attempt to assert his independence, and the power of Assyria must even then have been a prominent object in the thoughts of prophets who, like Micah and Isaiah, were watching the signs of the times, and the gathering of the heavens.

On the accession of Ahaz, therefore, the position of affairs was that Judah, Israel, and Syria had all been brought to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Assyrian king, and were in the relation of vassal princes paying tribute. It seemed to two of those princes that an opportunity presented itself, in the weak and wavering character of Ahaz, for an alliance against the third. Israel and Syria would renew their old

confederacy against Judah. It began with a great and crushing victory. If we accept the narrative of 2 Chron. xxviii. 1-15, with whatever allowance for the tendency of Eastern annalists or transcribers to large numerical estimates, 120,000 men of Judah were slain in battle, 200,000, including women and children, were carried captives to Samaria, and were only delivered from the slavery which was the usual fate of prisoners by the intervention of the prophet Oded. The old hereditary enemies of Judah, the Edomites and Philistines, took advantage of the opportunity and renewed their attacks (2 Chron. xxviii. 17, 18). Pekah, and his ally Rezin of Damascus, were emboldened by their success to march against Jerusalem, aiming at nothing less than the deposition of Ahaz, and with him of the whole house of David, and the substitution of "the son of Tabeal," as a king who should be their vassal or ally (Isa. vii. 6). Who this Tabeal was, the Jewish records do not tell us. Some light is however thrown upon the matter by an inscription of Sennacherib's, known as the "prism" inscription, in the British Museum (*R. P.*, i. 35), in which he enumerates among the kings who paid him tribute—

"Menahem, king of Ussimiruna (= Samaria)
Tubaal, king of Sidon."

and the rulers of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Arvad, Gaza, Ashdod. There is, of course, a chronological difficulty in the fact that Menahem had paid tribute to Pul some fifty years before Sennacherib's invasion of Judah. Possibly a solution of that difficulty may be found in the conjecture that some scion of the house of Menahem, bearing the same name, had been left as a satrap in charge of Samaria after its capture by Shalmaneser or Sargon; but the occurrence of the name of Tubaal points to the fact either that Zidon had joined the alliance of Syria and Israel against Judah, or that

he, as a soldier of fortune, had thrown himself into the conflict in the hope of gaining some share of the spoil. It would seem that he was sufficiently strong to make it worth while for the Assyrian king to come to terms with him, as he appears in the inscription above quoted to have been appointed over Zidon by Sennacherib.

It was natural that a weak prince like Ahaz should think in this emergency that his only chance of safety lay in appealing to the king, who claimed what we have learnt to call suzerainty alike over him and over his foes. It was in vain that Isaiah protested against the unwisdom of this policy, and pointed out the evils which would inevitably follow; in vain also that he held out to the king and his panic-stricken people the assurance that the powers which threatened them, formidable as they seemed, would, if left to themselves, collapse, before a child yet unborn could pass from infancy to manhood (Isa. vii. 8, 16). The king sent his messengers to Tiglath-Pileser, "who came unto him and distressed him, and strengthened him not" (2 Chron. xxviii. 21). The Assyrian monarch sold his help dear, and the treasury of the temple and of the palace had to be half emptied to satisfy his demands. If Ahaz had the satisfaction of seeing the chief cities of the Transjordanic and northern tribes captured and their people carried into exile, and his enemy Pekah dethroned and murdered (2 Kings xv. 29, 30), he was yet compelled to see also the Assyrian armies parading through Judah as well as Israel (Isa. viii. 8). The straits to which he was brought shewed themselves in his efforts to propitiate the gods of Syria, whom he looked upon as mightier than the Lord of hosts, by worshipping after their ritual (2 Chron. xxviii. 23), and by his "seeking to familiar spirits and wizards that peep (-whisper) and that mutter" (Isa. viii. 19), instead of listening to the prophet who had spoken such unwelcome truths.

To the great Assyrian king, with dominions stretching,

in his own language, "from the rising to the setting sun," the events in Jewish history which seem to us so full of interest, were but the transactions of a remote province, hardly as important as those of Cabul and Candahar, of Merv and Herat, are to us. We must not look, accordingly, to them for any full corroboration of the Biblical narrative. We can well understand, however, the satisfaction of the first interpreter (Mr. George Smith) when, in the *Annals of Tiglath-Pileser*, written in cuneiform characters on a tablet found in the temple of Nebo at Nimroud, he found that the events in question had not been passed over altogether without notice. In a list of tributary kings (Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 263), we find, together with the kings of Carchemish, Hamath, Arvad, Moab, Askelon, Edom and others, the name of "Yauhazi of Jahudai," and Assyrian experts, such as Schrader (*Keilinschr.*, p. 8) and Mr. Rodwell (*R. P.*, v. 43) are agreed in seeing in this a transliterated form of "Jehoahaz of Judah." The question of course presents itself, how the Biblical name of the king came to appear in this fuller form in the Assyrian annals, and I venture to suggest an answer. (1) The name Ahaz (= the holder, or the grasper) was not, so to speak, a natural name to occur in a line of kings in which, with hardly an exception, the Divine Name forms either the first or the last syllable of all the other names. There would be an antecedent probability, on this ground, in favour of the fuller form Jehoahaz (= Jehovah holds, *i.e.* supports) borne both by a king of Israel (2 Kings xiii. 1-9), and a later king of Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 31). (2) Looking, however, to the evil fame which rested upon the name of this king, we can well understand that the prophets and scribes who recorded his transgressions might emphasize their condemnation by omitting the sacred syllables with which his memory was unworthy to be associated. Earlier achievements of Tiglath-Pileser II., his imposing tribute upon "Minihimmi of the

city Samarinaï" (= Menahem of Samaria) (*R. P.*, v. 48), and his wars with Azariah (*R. P.*, v. 45), have been in part already referred to. One other passage in his *Annals* (Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 285 ; *R. P.*, v. 52), completes the points of contact with Jewish history.

"The land of Beth-Omri

. . . the population . . . the goods of its people (and the furniture to) the land of Assyria I sent. Pakaha (= Pekah) their king they had slain . . . Husih (= Hoshea) to the kingdom over them I appointed. Ten talents of gold, one thousand of silver . . . I received from them as their tribute, and to the land of Assyria I sent."

We have thus brought before us the captivity of part at least of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, the revolution which placed Hosea on the throne after the murder of Pekah (2 Kings xv. 30), and the position of that king as a tributary to Assyria, paying, as far as the silver is concerned, the same sum as Menahem ; and so the way is prepared for the right understanding of the events which led to the siege and capture of Samaria. Another fragment may however be noticed, though referring to events not recorded in the Old Testament annals, as bringing before us the fate of the king, Rezin of Damascus, who had joined Pekah in his attack on Judah, and so throwing light on the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophetic utterance to Ahaz, "The land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings" (Isa. vii. 16). I quote from Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 282. The opening lines are mutilated, but the names that occur towards the close of the fragment leave no shadow of doubt as to their application to the king of Syria.

" . . . his warriors I captured . . . with the sword
I destroyed

.

. . . the lords of chariots and . . . their arms I broke
before him,

- . . . their horses I captured . . . his warriors carrying
bows,
. . . bearing shields and spears, in hand I captured them
and their fighting.
. . . line of battle. He to save his life fled away alone, and
. . . like a deer, and into the great gate of his city he entered.

His generals alive

In hand I captured, and on crosses I raised them.

His country I subdued, forty-five men of his camp

- . . . Damascus his city I besieged, and like a caged bird I
enclosed him. His forests
. . . the trees of which were without number, I cut down
and did not leave one.
. . . Hadara, [probably Rimmon-Hadara = Benhadar = or
Benhadad] the house of the father of Rezon of Syria

* * * * *

Sixteen districts of Syria, like a flood I swept."

The last line of the inscription furnishes a striking parallel to Isaiah's words (viii. 7, 8). "Now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks and he shall pass through Judah: he shall overflow and go over, he shall reach even to the neck." The boast of the last line but two, "His forests I cut down," illustrates in like manner that which Isaiah (xxxvii. 24) puts into the mouth of Sennacherib: "With the multitude of my chariots I am come up to the heights of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and will cut down the tall cedar-trees thereof, and the choice fir-trees thereof."

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

III. THE TEXT.

IN the introductory paper to this series I touched upon the proposals for revision which were made in the last century; and, on the whole, saw reason for thankfulness in the fact that those proposals did not meet with success. A similar question will no doubt be raised as to the revision which is just concluded. What will posterity say of it? Has the moment chosen for it been a happy one? Would it not perhaps have been better to wait a little longer? If, for example, the revision had been begun instead of being completed in this present year, might not the result have been more satisfactory, and its success more entirely assured? It is proverbially easy to be wise after the event; and if, at the beginning of the last decade, it had been possible to foresee the really remarkable outbreak of interest and productiveness in the field of exegetical theology to which the Editor of this Magazine bore worthy testimony not long ago—if it had been possible to foresee what the last ten years, and especially perhaps the last two years, have brought forth, the advocates of revision might themselves have hesitated to press on the practical realization of their project just at that particular time. It would not, indeed, have been a clear case even for us who look back upon accomplished facts, and have not merely to speculate upon an uncertain future. Even for us, with this great advantage, it is by no means easy to say whether the loss might not have been equal to the gain. The

present decade, as compared with that which preceded it, has been enriched chiefly by the work of some three or four eminent men; and most, though not all, of these have had seats upon the Revision Committee. As it is they have brought to the deliberations of that Committee their own living voice and their own matured judgment, the possible loss of which would have been dearly bought even by the possession of their published works. It is easy to count off upon one's fingers some half dozen names of men who have given to the work of the revision the best years of their life, and of whom it is very doubtful whether we shall see the like of them again. To set against this is the fact, of which the last volume of the *Speaker's Commentary* is sufficient evidence, that we have had first-rate men among us who, from one cause or another, have not had seats upon the Revision Committee, and to whose opinion the Committee has not had access. And among this number have been some who were not merely men of sound and sober judgment, but scholars of high originality, who have really advanced the boundaries of knowledge and added to the permanent stock of truth in the world. The absence of such men from the Committee has been a distinct misfortune; and, in having their written works before it, the next generation will have a distinct advantage apart from anything that it may be able to contribute itself. How these two opposing arguments are to be balanced against each other is a nice and difficult question, upon which it is not necessary for me at this moment to express a definite opinion. The aspect of the question at which I have now to look is a special one. The Revisers themselves have drawn a clear distinction between the revision of the Greek text on which their translation is based, and the translation itself. Was the moment chosen for the revision of the Greek of the New Testament happy or otherwise? Was it the happiest moment that could have

been chosen? This is the point upon which I am to try to give an answer.

It was evidently no accidental coincidence that on the same day with the publication of the Revised Version there also appeared the modest volume, entitled, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, by Dr. B. F. Westcott and Dr. F. J. A. Hort. Modest as it is in compass, this volume represents—or rather will represent when it is completed¹ by the promised Introduction and Appendix—the labours of thirty years, and those labours not expended at mere hap hazard, without any guiding principle, but conducted in accordance with strictly scientific method, with a definite aim in view, prosecuted steadfastly, but circumspectly, with a prolonged and scrupulous examination of the most minute detail.

Before we go further, it may be well to state briefly some of the characteristic features in the method thus pursued. The first, and perhaps the most fundamental, characteristic is this: that *the consideration of internal evidence has been throughout subordinated to that of the external evidence*. Not that internal evidence has been ignored by any means. On the contrary, at different stages in the process of the investigation, and as a subsidiary instrument, it has evidently been of great value. But whereas it has hitherto been frequently the custom in the final discussion of each reading for the critic to ask himself, first of all, What is the bearing of this reading upon the context? What is the sacred writer most likely to have written? Which of the alternative readings bears the most appearance of corruption?—all such questions have been systematically postponed to the one main question, *Which is the oldest attested text?* The special object which the two Cambridge editors have had in view has been, to trace back the history of the text as nearly as possible to

¹ Now, happily, the case. Sept. 6th.

the Apostolic autographs themselves. This has been done by means of a searching analysis of the different authorities, and groups of authorities, taking as a starting point those, such as the patristic quotations, to which a distinct and definite date could be given. A reading, for instance, would be taken which is found in our common printed texts, and it would be followed up to its source. It would be found abundantly in the cursive MSS. which prevailed from the tenth century onwards; it would be found in some of the uncial MSS.; it would be found in some of the versions; it would be found in patristic quotations—up to a certain point, which would be in many cases the fourth century. But here the chain of evidence would be suddenly arrested. When traces of the reading at an earlier date than this were looked for, they would be strangely absent. Beginning with an immensely wide and almost universal diffusion, the evidence would be found at first gradually, but after a time rapidly, to dwindle and contract. It begins with imposing volume; it ends by vanishing away to nothing at all. The competitive reading, on the other hand, will have a history which is just the opposite of this. It is banished from the printed texts. Its representation amongst cursives is but small. But the older the uncial MS., the more surely it is present there. The more demonstrably ancient is the version, the more inevitably does it receive its support. After the fourth century traces of this reading in patristic quotations are few; before the fourth century they are many. It is found, perhaps, two or three times over in Origen; it is found (less certainly) in Eusebius; it is found in the Latin of Cyprian and Tertullian—perhaps also in Irenæus. In such a case the conclusion would be clear. The oldest reading, the primitive reading, the genuine reading, the reading of the Evangelist or Apostle himself, was that which had this abundant early and deficient later attestation. The late attestation really

counts for nothing. It affords hardly a presumption as to the true original text where it is devoid of substantial early support. Thus we have explained a second main characteristic of the Cambridge text—the *comparative neglect of the later MSS. and authorities*. It had been the custom with the older school of critics to count the MSS. ranged on one side and on the other—"twenty or more on this side, only four or five on that; the majority is clear." All this method has been discarded. Authorities must be not counted, but weighed; or rather they must be tested, so as to ascertain what is the real age and worth of their evidence; not merely that of the MSS. themselves, but that of the original from which they were last copied, that of the type of text which they contain. So far the course seemed clear, and there could be little doubt as to the result; but then came the more difficult question, What was to be done with two readings, both of which possessed substantial early attestation? The previous investigations furnished the clue. In tracking back rejected readings to their origin, it was often possible to lay the finger upon the exact point where a false reading came in. It was found first, for instance, in the Latin version, or in some Latin writers; or else, perhaps, in some authority connected with Syria or Alexandria. Instances of this kind would gradually collect and accumulate until it became possible to form some general conclusion as to the character of the corruption to which these several groups of authorities were most liable, and the nature of their relation to each other. The Latins had an inveterate taste for paraphrase. The Alexandrian tendency was to grammatical and literary emendation. Everywhere the scribes were prone to harmonize the divergent texts of parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels, or of parallel passages in the same Gospel. Here was another instrument for discriminating between readings. Was the reading under discussion para-

phrastic, with Latin authority, however early and however strong? It belonged to the characteristic vein of corruption, and as such was to be rejected. Was it an improvement on the Greek to a more elegant and classical style? Then its Alexandrine supporters could go no great way to help it, because on this point they were discredited. Was the reading in close agreement with some parallel text, while the competing reading diverged from it? Then, again, it was open to grave suspicion. Such criteria as these were not only applicable to the decision of particular readings; they also came in to determine the general character of the authorities, whether manuscripts, versions, or Fathers. By their means it became possible to discover not merely to what class an authority belonged, but what was its place in that class. Were its tendencies pronounced or subdued? Did it mark an advanced or an initial stage of corruption? Was its text pure or mixed? Did it represent the type of a single class, or of more than one class combined? Clearly one who was thus familiar with all the idiosyncrasies of the documents with which he had to deal would have an immense advantage over one who based his whole case on *à priori* probabilities differently apprehended by different minds, and very often, when impartially considered, closely balanced upon opposite sides.

That which has been given above is the roughest possible outline of the elaborate process which a textual critic must go through before he can really be considered master of his subject. And of all who have undertaken this difficult task, none have ever gone to work with such a lofty ideal, none have ever prepared themselves by such comprehensive and searching study, as the two editors whose volume, as I have said, evidently not through accident, appeared simultaneously with the publication of the Revised Version.

Both editors had, and none more deserved to have, seats

upon the Revision Committee. They were thus able to make their views heard in the council-chamber, and to support them with all the weight of their personal authority, while as yet the outer public had but partial access to them. A partial access, indeed, they had; for the generous kindness of the editors had placed advanced copies of a provisional text in the hands of more than one scholar, to whom it proved an invaluable aid. The completed text, with all its final corrections, came out on the same day with the Revised Version, and the first step of one who was interested either in the determination of the text of the New Testament Scriptures, or in the permanent success of the New Version, was naturally to institute a comparison of the two.

The results of such a comparison are given below. It seemed, however, easy, in carrying it out, rather to extend the comparative process, to include other editors besides these already named, so as to provide something like a conspectus of the best modern authorities, and also to give some idea of their relation to the original data.

It may be well, for the sake of the general reader, just to add a few words of preliminary explanation. Of the editors, Lachmann comes first in order of time, and his importance is perhaps chiefly historical. He seized the one great principle, that the first thing to be done was to arrive as nearly as possible at the primitive text; and that, in doing this, the later copies could afford little assistance. In working out this principle, Lachmann proceeded with the utmost boldness. He confined himself to a small group of authorities, and he based his text upon these, without paying the slightest regard to printed texts or later authorities. He despaired, however, of getting back really to the original text, and only professed to reconstruct it as it had stood in the best documents at the beginning of the fourth century. And the list of his

authorities was really too small. He paid very great attention to the Latin version; but he did this to the exclusion of other versions of hardly less value. To the Curetonian Syriac, the oldest extant form of the Syriac version, he had not access at all; neither had he access to the Sinaitic Codex (S) discovered by Tischendorf eight years after his death; and he was only able to make use of imperfect collations of the great Codex of the Vatican (B). These drawbacks greatly impair the present value of Lachmann's text; but, as a subsidiary authority, it may still be used. In dealing with such material as he had, Lachmann shewed the hand of a master; and it is interesting to see how the latest critics every now and then come back to his decisions. Tregelles worked upon similar lines to those of Lachmann, but on a more comprehensive scale, and with the advantage of prolonged practical acquaintance with the MSS. of the Greek Testament, many of which he collated with admirable skill and accuracy. He spent a long life in defending what he believed to be sound principles of textual criticism. He too, however, did not possess the Sinaitic Codex when he was constructing his text of the Gospels, and there are many debated points where the possession of that MS. would doubtless just have turned the scale. Tischendorf, the great contemporary and friend of Tregelles, had a still wider experience in the collation of MSS., the amount as well as the quality of the work done by him in this department being simply marvellous. His eighth edition represents up to the present time the most complete collection of the authorities for the text, and his own reconstructed text as contained in it is very good. Tischendorf learnt much while his work was going on; and this, his last edition, would lead one to suppose that he was largely influenced by Tregelles himself: he had not, however, the same clearly defined principles to work with that

Tregelles had; his results seem to have been reached more empirically; and he is not seldom led astray by excessive partiality for the MS. which he had the good fortune to discover. Alford's text was eclectic, based very much upon his predecessors, the scientific element not being quite at first hand, but with considerable good sense in the estimation of internal evidence. McClellan's able volume, which deserves the grateful appreciation of every student, shews to least advantage in textual criticism. There is not even an approach to scientific principle in the treatment of external authorities. But, at the same time, the text is important, as embodying the results of a careful and able weighing of internal evidences. It thus affords a check upon the work of editors who have proceeded upon different principles; and, in cases where it agrees with them, it must needs be considered to supply valuable corroboration. Mr. McClellan stands practically at the opposite pole to Drs. Westcott and Hort. Dr. B. Weiss may be said to be Tischendorf's best successor in Germany. He has been chosen to re-edit Meyer's well-known Commentary upon the Gospels; and the text-critical portions of this he has entirely re-written. He has paid much attention both to the internal and external evidence.

It is not of much importance that the reader should bear in mind the names of the MSS. The names are simply symbols for which the letters that are commonly used to designate them may serve as well. Nor is it even of much importance that he should remember the century in which they were written; for the copy made use of in transcribing them may have been recent, or it may have been old. The principal thing to note is the combinations in which they occur. Premising thus much, it may be said that **Σ** (Codex Sinaiticus) and **B** (Codex Vaticanus) are the two oldest MSS., both belonging to the fourth century. **A** (Codex Alexandrinus) and **C** (Codex Ephraemi

Rescriptus) belong to the fifth century. C is difficult to decipher, and its text is not always ascertainable. A is wanting for the first twenty-four chapters of St. Matthew, and its text in the Gospels is inferior to that in the other books, this portion having apparently been copied from a different original. Codd. D (Codex Bezaë) and Z (Codex Dublinensis) belong to the sixth century. D is of the Latin type and has a Latin version in parallel columns to the Greek; Z, which is very good as far as it goes, contains unfortunately only part of St. Matthew; Ξ (Codex Zacynthius), in like manner, only part of St. Luke. Ξ and L (Codex Regius Parisiensis) are of the eighth century, and Δ (Codex Sangallensis) of the ninth. Δ has a text of peculiar value in the Gospel of St. Mark. The remaining MSS. need not be noticed more particularly. Where an asterisk is appended to the letter designating a MS. (thus **N***) it denotes the first hand or original copyist as distinct from later correctors.

I proceed, then, to examine the text adopted by the Revisers in St. Matthew's Gospel, with a view to ascertain the extent of its agreement more especially with the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort, but incidentally also with that of other editors. It will probably give the clearest result if the instances of agreement and of difference from that which has been taken as the standard text are collected separately. At the same time, for the convenience of the reader, a distinction will be made in the mode of printing the different passages; those which are of intrinsic interest and importance, or which have been especially the subject of controversy, will be printed in ordinary type: those of minor importance and interest, and where the interest is chiefly of a text-critical kind and less as affecting the sense, will be printed in small type: those of less importance still will not be printed in full at all, but simply with a reference to the verse, the MSS. followed by

Westcott and Hort and the Revisers being placed after the references: readings which do not really affect the sense are omitted. The readings will be numbered for convenience in subsequently referring to them. The translation first given is in all cases that of the Authorized Version, the alternative is usually taken from the Revised Version.

In classifying the readings of Westcott and Hort it has been thought best to treat as text all that is printed continuously whether in single or double brackets. In this way some slight anomalies may arise; *e.g.* No. 189, might perhaps more strictly be classed as an instance of agreement with the Revised Version. The reader will kindly make allowance for such cases.

Instances of Agreement between the Text of the Revisers and that of Drs. Westcott and Hort, in St. Matthew's Gospel.

1. Matt. i. 6. "David the king." Omit "the king." \aleph B and one other uncial MS., Revisers, and Westcott and Hort, with all the editors mentioned above except McClellan.
2. „ i. 8. "Asaph" for "Asa." \aleph B C D, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, and Revisers, against Weiss and McClellan.
3. „ i. 10. "Amos" for "Amon." Same editors, also against Weiss and McClellan.
4. „ i. 18. "birth of Jesus Christ." So Revisers (text) with Westcott and Hort (text). \aleph C L and almost all MSS., Egyptian Versions, later Syriac, Origen and Eusebius.

"birth of Christ Jesus." B, Latin translator of Origen, Westcott and Hort (margin), Weiss (probably).

"birth of the Christ," Latin Versions, Old Syriac, Irenæus, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (former reading), Revisers (margin).

5. Matt. i. 25. "her first-born son." So C D L, etc., McClellan; "a son" \aleph B Z, other editors and Revisers. Compare Luke xi. 7.
6. „ ii. 18. "[lamentation and] weeping." Omit bracketed words \aleph B Z, editors and Revisers.
7. „ iii. 6. "were baptized of him in Jordan." "The river Jordan" \aleph B C Δ , editors and Revisers.
10. „ iv. 23. \aleph B C.
11. „ v. 4, 5. "Blessed are they that mourn . . . the meek," etc. Common order preserved by \aleph B C, etc., Peshito Syriac, Version of Lower Egypt, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text) and Revisers (text); order of verses transposed by D, Latin Versions and Old Syriac, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles and Revisers (margin).
12. „ v. 11. "say all manner of evil against you falsely." So \aleph B C, etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and Revisers; omit "falsely," D, Old Latin, Origen, Hilary, Lachmann.
13. „ v. 22. "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause." So D E L, etc., Old Latin, Syriac Versions, Version of Lower Egypt, Irenæus, Cyprian, Hilary, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Alford (text), Tregelles (text), Revisers (margin); omit "without a cause," \aleph B, Vulgate, Æthiopic, Tertullian, Origen, Jerome and Augustine (as well as MSS. known to them), Lachmann, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and Revisers (text).
15. „ v. 30. "be cast into hell." So, E G, etc.; "go into," \aleph B, editors and Revisers.
17. „ v. 44. "Love your enemies, [bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you,] and pray for them which [despitefully use you and] persecute you." Omit bracketed words, \aleph B, editors and Revisers. Compare Luke vi. 28.
18. „ v. 47. For "do not even the publicans so," read "the Gentiles the same." \aleph B D Z, editors and Revisers.

19. Matt. v. 48. \aleph B Z, etc.
21. „ vi. 1. For “alms” read “righteousness.” \aleph^* B D, editors and Revisers.
22. „ vi. 4. “Thy Father which seeth in secret [himself] shall reward thee [openly].” Omit bracketed words, \aleph B D Z, editors and Revisers.
23. „ vi. 5. “When thou prayest, thou shalt not be.” “When ye pray, ye shall not be.” \aleph^* B Z, editors and Revisers.
24. „ vi. 6 and 18. “shall reward thee openly.” Omit “openly,” \aleph B D Z, editors and Revisers.
26. „ vi. 12. “as we forgive our debtors.” “have forgiven” \aleph^* B Z, editors and Revisers.
27. „ vi. 13. The Doxology is inserted by E G, etc., Syriac Versions (with some variation) and Version of Upper Egypt (also with some variation); it is omitted by \aleph B D Z, Latin Versions, Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, recent editors, and Revisers (text).
28. „ vi. 15. “if ye forgive not men their trespasses.” So B L, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers; omit “their trespasses,” \aleph D, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort as alternative.
29. „ vi. 21. “where your treasure is.” For “your” read “thy” \aleph B, editors and Revisers.
30. „ vi. 33. “the kingdom of God and his righteousness.” So L Δ , etc., McClellan; “his kingdom and his righteousness” \aleph (B partly), Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort and Revisers. See below, p. 270.
33. „ vii. 14. “Because strait is the gate.” So \aleph^* B*, and one other uncial MS., Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort and Revisers (text). “How strait,” etc., correctors of \aleph B, L Δ , etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, Revisers (margin).
35. „ vii. 23. \aleph B Z.
36. „ vii. 29. “not as the scribes.” Read “not as their scribes,” \aleph B Δ and some other MSS., most editors and Revisers.
39. „ viii. 15. [Peter’s wife’s mother] “ministered unto them.” Read “unto him,” \aleph B C, etc., editors and Revisers.

41. Matt. viii. 23. "a ship." So \aleph (second corrector) B C, Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers; "the ship" (*i.e.*, the particular ship which our Lord was in the habit of using), \aleph E L, etc., Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss.
42. „ viii. 28. "country of the Gergesenes." So E L, etc., Version of Lower Egypt and Æthiopic, McClellan; "Gerasenes," most MSS. in time of Origen, Latin Versions and Version of Upper Egypt, Lachmann; "Gadarenes," B C* Δ and one other, also MSS. known to Origen, Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and Revisers (with no mention of other readings).
43. „ viii. 29. "Jesus, thou Son of God." Omit "Jesus," \aleph B C L, editors and Revisers.
44. „ viii. 31. "Suffer us to go away into the herd of swine." "Send us away into" \aleph B, editors and Revisers.
45. „ ix. 2. \aleph B (also in ver. 5).
46. „ ix. 4. "And Jesus knowing their thoughts." So B and some late MSS., Lachmann, Tregelles, Weiss, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text) and Revisers (text); "seeing their thoughts," \aleph C D, etc., Alford, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (margin) and Revisers (margin).
47. „ ix. 8. "when the multitude saw it they marvelled." "They were afraid," \aleph B D, editors and Revisers.
48. „ ix. 13. "I am . . . come to call . . . sinners to repentance." Omit "to repentance," \aleph B D Δ , editors and Revisers.
51. „ ix. 36. "They fainted and were scattered abroad." For "fainted" read "were distressed" (*ἐσκυλμένοι* "worried", McClellan, to keep up the metaphor from sheep) \aleph B C, etc., editors and Revisers.
52. „ x. 3. "Lebbæus whose surname was Thaddæus." So E G, etc.; "Lebbæus" simply D, and probably Origen, Tischendorf, Alford, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (margin), see also Nicholson, *Gospel according to Matthew*, p. 99; "Thaddæus" simply

- ⌵ B, Lachmann, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers.
53. Matt. x. 4. "Simon the Canaanite." "Simon the Cananæan" (*i.e.*, Zealot, see Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13) B C D L, editors and Revisers.
54. „ x. 10. "nor yet staves." So C L, etc.; but "a staff" (as margin of A.V.) ⌵ B D, editors and Revisers. Note that this creates an apparent discrepancy with Mark vi. 8.
55. „ xi. 2. "he" (John) "sent two of his disciples." Revisers read "sent by his disciples" after ⌵ B C* D and editors.
56. „ xi. 9. "What went ye out for to see? A prophet?" So C D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); "Wherefore went ye out? to see a prophet?" ⌵* B Z, Alford, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
57. „ xi. 10. ⌵ B D.
60. „ xi. 19. "Wisdom is justified of her children." So corrector of B, C D L, Latin and Old Syriac Versions, Lachmann, Alford, McClellan, Revisers (margin), see also Nicholson, *Gospel according to St. Matthew*, p. 110; "by her works" ⌵ B, Version of Lower Egypt and Peshito Syriac, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
61. „ xi. 23. "thou Capernaum which art exalted," etc. So E F, etc., Weiss; "shalt thou be exalted?" ⌵ B C D L, other editors and Revisers.
62. „ "shalt be brought down." So ⌵ C, etc., Alford, Tischendorf, McClellan, Revisers (margin); "thou shalt go down," B D, Lachmann, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
64. „ xii. 6. "one greater than the temple." Literally "a greater thing," ⌵ B D, etc., editors and Revisers.
65. „ xii. 15. "great multitudes." So C D, etc. (text); "many," ⌵ B, other editors and Revisers.

66. Matt. xii. 22. "the blind and dumb both spake and saw." "The dumb spake and saw," \aleph B D, editors and Revisers.
67. „ xii. 31. "shall be forgiven unto men." So \aleph C D, etc., most editors, Revisers (text); "unto you, men." B, Athanasius, Alford (text), Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
68. „ "shall not be forgiven unto men." Omit "unto men" \aleph B, several Versions, most editors and Revisers.
69. „ xii. 35. "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart." Omit "of his heart," \aleph B C D, etc., editors and Revisers.
71. „ xiii. 9. "He that hath ears to hear." Omit "to hear" (also in verse 43) \aleph B L, most editors, and Revisers (text).
72. „ xiii. 22. "care of this world." Revisers read "care of the world" (literally "age") with \aleph^* B D and editors. Similarly "end of the world" in verse 40.
73. „ xiii. 25. "the enemy . . . sowed tares." "Sowed also" (lit. "oversowed" McClellan, "sowed on the top" of the wheat) "tares" \aleph (\aleph^* nearly, and corrector) B, Irenæus, Origen, editors and Revisers.
75. „ xiii. 51. "[Jesus saith unto them,] Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, yea, [Lord]." Omit bracketed words \aleph B D, editors and Revisers.
76. „ xiii. 55. For "Joses" read "Joseph," first corrector of \aleph , B C, editors and Revisers.
78. „ xiv. 12. "took up the body and buried it." "Took up the corpse and buried him," \aleph B and other MSS., most editors and Revisers.
81. „ xiv. 25. \aleph B and some others.
83. „ xiv. 30. "when he saw the wind boisterous" (lit. "strong"). So C D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers (margin); omit "boisterous," \aleph B*, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
84. „ xiv. 34. "unto the land of Gennesaret." Rather "to the land unto Gennesaret," \aleph B D L and two others, most editors and Revisers.
85. „ xv. 4. B D, corrector of \aleph , and one other uncial MS.

86. Matt. xv. 6. "and honour not his father." So E F, etc., Alford; "he shall not honour," \aleph B C D and one other MS., other editors and Revisers.
87. .. "or his mother." So C E, etc., Alford (text), Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Revisers (margin); omit \aleph B D, Lachmann, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
88. .. "commandment of God." So E F, etc.; "law," \aleph^* C, and one other, Alford, Tischendorf, Weiss, Revisers (margin); "word" \aleph (corrector) B D, Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
89. .. xv. 8. "This people [draweth nigh unto me with their mouth and] honoureth me," etc. Omit bracketed words \aleph B D L, editors and Revisers.
90. .. xv. 14. "blind leaders of the blind." So most MSS. and editors; "blind guides" (omitting "of the blind") \aleph^* B D, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
91. .. xv. 17. B D Z.
93. .. xv. 39. For "Magdala" read "Magadan" \aleph B D, editors and Revisers.
94. .. xvi. 2, 3. "When it is evening . . . signs of the times." These two verses are omitted by \aleph B and some others, Old Syriac, and are bracketed by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Alford; doubly bracketed by Westcott and Hort; omission noted also in margin of Revised Version.
95. .. xvi. 4. "the sign of the prophet Jonas." Omit "the prophet," \aleph B D L, editors and Revisers.
96. .. xvi. 8. \aleph B D.
97. .. xvi. 11. "I spake it not to you concerning bread that ye should beware." "I spake not to you concerning bread" (margin "loaves"). "But beware," etc., \aleph B C* L, most editors, and Revisers.
98. .. xvi. 13. "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?" So D E, etc., Lachmann (text), Alford, Revisers (margin); "Who do men say that the Son of man is?" \aleph B, most editors, and Revisers.
99. .. xvi. 20. "that they should tell no man that he was

Jesus, the Christ." Omit "Jesus," \aleph B L, and some others, editors, and Revisers.

101. Matt. xvi. 26. \aleph B L.
102. „ xvii. 4. "let us make here three tabernacles." "I will make," etc., \aleph B C*, most editors, and Revisers.
103. „ xvii. 11. "Elias shall first come." Omit "first," \aleph B D, editors and Revisers.
105. „ xvii. 20. "because of your unbelief." So C D, etc., McClellan; for "unbelief" read "little faith" (*ὀλιγοπιστίαν*) \aleph B, most editors, and Revisers.
106. „ xvii. 21. "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." This verse is retained by \aleph (second corrector), C D L etc., Latin Versions and Peshito Syriac, Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); it is omitted by \aleph^* B, Egyptian and Old Syriac Versions, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
108. „ xviii. 11. "For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." Omit whole verse \aleph B L*, editors and Revisers (text). See Luke xix. 10.
114. „ xviii. 28. \aleph B C D.
115. „ xviii. 29. \aleph B C D.
116. „ xix. 3. "The Pharisees also came unto him." So \aleph D etc. Tischendorf, Revisers (margin); "Pharisees," B C L and some other MSS., other editors, and Revisers (text).
118. „ xix. 9. "except for fornication." So \aleph C Z, etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text). Revisers (text); "saving for the cause of fornication," B D, Lachmann, McClellan, and Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin) adding "maketh her an adulteress," etc., as in chap. v. 32, after B C*.
120. „ xix. 16. "Good master." So C E, etc., McClellan, Revisers (margin); omit "good," \aleph B D L, other editors, and Revisers (text).
121. „ xix. 17. "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God." So C E, etc.,

- McClellan, Revisers (margin) ; "Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good," \aleph B D L, other editors, and Revisers (text). See Mark x. 18 ; Luke xviii. 19.
122. Matt. xix. 20. "All these things have I kept from my youth up." Omit "From my youth up," \aleph^* B L, editors and Revisers.
123. „ xix. 29. "father or mother or wife." Omit "or wife," B D, editors and Revisers (text). See Luke xviii. 29.
125. „ xx. 6, 7. "found others standing [idle] . . . [and whatsoever is right that shall ye receive]." Omit bracketed words \aleph B D L, editors and Revisers.
127. „ xx. 16. "for many be called but few chosen." Omit this clause \aleph B L Z, most editors, and Revisers. See chap. xix. 30
128. „ xx. 22. "and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with." Omit this and the corresponding clause in verse 23, \aleph B D L Z, Editors and Revisers. Compare Mark x. 39.
129. „ xxi. 4. \aleph C* D L Z.
130. „ xxi. 11. \aleph B D.
131. „ xxi. 13. \aleph B L.
133. „ xxi. 32. "repented not." "Did not even repent," B, Vulgate, Version of Lower Egypt and Syriac Versions, most editors, and Revisers.
134. „ xxi. 44. This verse, which is parallel to Luke xx. 18, is retained by most MSS. and editors, and by Revisers (text); it is omitted by D, Old Latin, Origen, Eusebius, Tischendorf and Revisers (margin), and bracketed by Westcott and Hort.
135. „ xxii. 7. \aleph B L.
137. „ xxii. 13. \aleph B L.
138. „ xxii. 30. "angels of God." So \aleph L, etc., Alford (text), Tischendorf, Weiss (text), Revisers (margin); omit "of God," B D, Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
139. „ xxii. 38. \aleph B, etc.
140. „ xxii. 40. "hang all the law and the prophets;" "hangeth," \aleph B D L Z, etc., editors and Revisers.

141. Matt. xxiii. 4. \aleph B L Δ .
143. „ xxiii. 8. “for one is your Master, even Christ.” “For one is your teacher” (= “Master,” omitting “even Christ”), \aleph B D L, editors and Revisers.
144. „ xxiii. 14. “Woe unto you . . . greater damnation.” Omit \aleph B D L Z, editors and Revisers (text). See Mark xii. 40; Luke xx. 47.
145. „ xxiii. 19. “ye [fools and] blind.” Omit bracketed words, \aleph D L Z, most editors, and Revisers.
147. „ xxiii. 34. \aleph B and some other MSS.
149. „ xxiv. 6. \aleph B D L.
150. „ xxiv. 7. “famines and pestilences and earthquakes.” Omit “and pestilences,” \aleph B D E*, most editors, and Revisers.
151. „ xxiv. 17. “to take anything out of his house.” “To take the things that are in” (lit. “out of,” by a well-known Greek idiom) “his house,” B L Z, etc., editors and Revisers.
152. „ xxiv. 18. \aleph B D L Z.
154. „ xxiv. 28. \aleph B D L.
156. „ xxiv. 36. “of that very hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven.” So \aleph first, but not second corrector, E F, etc., Vulgate, Peshito Syriac, Version of Lower Egypt, Basil, Didymus, good MSS. known to Jerome, Tregelles and Revisers (margin); add “neither the Son,” \aleph^* B D, Old Latin, Irenæus and Origen, Hilary and Chrysostom, Lachmann, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
157. „ “but my Father only;” “the Father,” \aleph B D L and other MSS., editors and Revisers.
158. „ xxiv. 27, 37, 39. Omit “also,” \aleph B D, \aleph B L, B D, editors and Revisers.
160. „ xxiv. 38. “as in the days that were before the flood.” So \aleph Δ , etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles and Weiss (as alternative); “as in those days,” etc., B D and some others, Lachmann, McClellan, Tregelles and Weiss (text), Westcott and Hort, Revisers.

161. Matt. xxiv. 42. "ye know not what hour;" "what day" ⲛ BD Δ, editors and Revisers.
162. „ xxiv. 48. "my lord delayeth his coming." Omit "his coming," ⲛ B, editors and Revisers.
163. „ xxv. 2. "five of them were wise and five were foolish. They that were foolish," etc.; "five of them were foolish and five were wise. For the foolish," etc., ⲛ B C, etc., editors and Revisers.
164. „ xxv. 6. ⲛ B C*, etc.
165. „ xxv. 13. "ye know neither the day nor the hour [wherein the Son of man cometh]." Omit bracketed words, ⲛ A B, etc., editors and Revisers.
166. „ xxv. 15, 16, . . . "and straightway took his journey. Then he," etc.; . . . "and he went on his journey. Straightway he," etc., ⲛ* B, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
168. „ xxv. 31. "all the holy angels." Omit "holy," ⲛ B D L, editors and Revisers.
169. „ xxvi. 3. "the chief priests and the scribes and the elders." Omit "and the scribes," ⲛ A B D L, editors and Revisers.
170. „ xxvi. 9. ⲛ A B D L.
171. „ xxvi. 20. "with the twelve." So B D and other MSS., Tregelles, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin); add "disciples," ⲛ A L and other MSS., Lachmann, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text).
172. „ xxvi. 27. "And he took the cup." "A cup," ⲛ B L Z and other MSS., editors and Revisers (text).
173. „ xxvi. 28. "this is my blood of the new covenant." So A C D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, Revisers (margin); omit "new," ⲛ B L Z, Alford, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
174. „ xxvi. 39. "And he went a little farther." So B, etc., Latin and Egyptian Versions, Lachmann, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers; "drew near

- a little," \aleph A C D, etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort (margin).
175. Matt. xxvi. 42. "if this [cup] may not pass away [from me]." Omit bracketed words, \aleph B, etc., most editors, and Revisers.
176. „ xxvi. 44. \aleph B L.
177. „ xxvi. 53. \aleph^* B L.
178. „ xxvi. 55. "sat daily with you." Omit "with you," \aleph B L, most editors, and Revisers.
179. „ xxvi. 59. "the chief priests and elders." Omit "and elders," \aleph B D L, editors and Revisers.
180. „ xxvi. 60. "But found none: yea, though many false witnesses came, yet found they none. At the last came two false witnesses." "And they found it not, though many false witnesses came. But afterwards came two," \aleph B C* L, editors and Revisers.
181. „ xxvii. 2. "to Pontius Pilate." Omit "Pontius," \aleph B L, most editors, and Revisers.
183. „ xxvii. 10. "and gave them for the potter's field." So most MSS., all editors, and Revisers (text); "I gave," etc., Syriac Versions, Eusebius, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
185. „ xxvii. 28. "And they stripped him." So \aleph^* A L, etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text); "clothed," B D, Lachmann, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
186. „ xxvii. 34. "vinegar." So A, etc., Weiss; "wine," \aleph B D L, other editors, and Revisers. Compare Mark xv. 23.
187. „ xxvii. 35. "that it might be fulfilled . . . did they cast lots." Omit whole quotation \aleph A B D, etc., editors and Revisers.
188. „ xxvii. 42. "If he be the King of Israel." "He is the King of Israel," \aleph B D L, most editors, and Revisers.
191. „ xxvii. 64. "lest his disciples come by night." Omit "by night," \aleph A B C*, etc., editors and Revisers.
192. „ xxviii. 2. "rolled back the stone from the door." Omit "from the door," \aleph B D, editors and Revisers.

193. Matt. xxviii. 6. "the place where the Lord lay." So A C D L, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin); "he lay," \aleph B, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text).
194. .. xxviii. 9. "as they went to tell the disciples." Omit \aleph B D, most editors, and Revisers.
195. .. xxviii. 20. "Amen." Omit \aleph A* B D, editors and Revisers.

Instances of Difference between the Text of the Revisers and that of Drs. Westcott and Hort, in St. Matthew's Gospel.

8. Matt. iii. 16. "the heavens were opened unto him." So Revisers (text) with C D supp. L, etc., Tregelles and McClellan; omit "unto him," \aleph B, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
9. .. iii. 16. C D, etc., Revisers; \aleph B, Westcott and Hort.
14. .. v. 25. "and the judge deliver thee to the officer." So D E, etc., Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers (text); omit bracketed words \aleph B, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and Revisers (margin).
16. .. v. 32. "and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced" ("when she is put away," Revisers) "committeth adultery." Bracketed by Westcott and Hort after D, some MSS. of Old Latin, and Greek and Latin MSS. known to Augustine.
20. .. vi. 1. "Take heed that ye do," etc. So B D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Weiss and Westcott and Hort (as alternative), Revisers; "But take heed," \aleph L Z, Alford (text), Tischendorf, Weiss and Westcott and Hort (text).
25. .. vi. 8. "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of." So most MSS., and editors and Revisers (text); "God your Father," \aleph B L, Weiss (text), Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
31. .. vii. 9. \aleph C, etc., Revisers; B* L, Westcott and Hort.
32. .. vii. 13. "wide is the gate and broad is the way." So B C L, etc., Tischendorf (text), Tregelles, McClellan,

Revisers (text); omit "is the gate" ("wide and broad is the way") \aleph^* , Old Latin, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Lachmann, Tischendorf (as alternative), Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).

34. Matt. vii. 18. "A good tree cannot bring forth." So C L Z, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers; "bear," \aleph^* B, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort.
37. " viii. 9. "I also am a man under authority." So Revisers (text), with most MSS. and editors; "a man set under authority" (as in Luke vii. 8), \aleph B, Westcott and Hort (text), and Revisers (margin).
38. " viii. 10. "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." So \aleph C L, etc., Tischendorf, McClellan, Revisers (text); "with no man in Israel have I found so great faith," B, with oldest form of some Versions, Lachmann, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
40. " viii. 18. C L Δ , etc., Revisers (text); B, Westcott and Hort (text).
49. " ix. 14. "Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft?" So C D, etc., Alford, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); omit "oft," \aleph^* B, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text) Revisers (margin).
50. " ix. 18. "there came a certain ruler." So ($\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$) some versions; similarly ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$) C D, etc., Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers; similarly ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$) Alford, Tischendorf; $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$, \aleph (second corrector), B, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (bracketing $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$); note that other MSS. have $\tau\iota\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma \epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$.
58. " xi. 15. "He that hath ears to hear." So \aleph C L Δ , Lachmann, Tregelles (text), Revisers (text); omit "to hear," B D, Tischendorf, Weiss, McClellan, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
59. " xi. 16. "their fellows" ($\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$), G S, etc. (also nearly C E, etc.), Lachmann, McClellan, Revisers; "the others" ($\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$), \aleph B D Z, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort. In construction of sentence Revisers and editors are agreed.
63. " xii. 4. [he, *i.e.* David] "did eat." So Revisers (text) with most MSS. and Tregelles; "they did eat," \aleph B,

Lachmann, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).

70. Matt. xii. 47. "Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without desiring to speak with thee." So C D Z, etc., most Versions, Lachmann, Tischendorf (text), Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers (text); omit whole verse, \aleph^* B L and one other, Old Syriac, Weiss (probably), Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
74. .. xiii. 35. "from the foundation of the world." So \aleph^* C D, etc., Revisers; omit "of the world," corrector of \aleph , B, Old Syriac, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Revisers (margin).
77. .. xiv. 3. C E, etc., Revisers; \aleph^* B*, Westcott and Hort.
79. .. xiv. 22. "into a ship." So B, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort; "into the ship," \aleph C D, etc., Tischendorf, Weiss, McClellan, Revisers.
80. .. xiv. 24. "was now in the midst of the sea." So \aleph C E, etc., Latin Versions, Lachmann, Tischendorf, McClellan, Revisers (text); "was many furlongs distant from the land," B, Syriac Versions, Version of Lower Egypt, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
82. .. xiv. 29. "Peter . . . walked on the water to go to Jesus." So D E, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); for "to go" read "and came," B C (apparently), Old Syriac, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), and Revisers (margin).
92. .. xv. 31. Omit "the maimed whole." \aleph , Version of Lower Egypt, Latin and Old Syriac Versions, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text). Not noticed by Revisers.
100. .. xvi. 21. "From that time forth began Jesus to shew," etc. So most MSS. and editors, Revisers (text). For "Jesus" read "Jesus Christ," \aleph^* B*, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
104. .. xvii. 15. "[is lunatick and] sore vexed." So ("suffereth grievously" $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\epsilon\iota$) C D, etc., Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Revisers; "is ill" ($\kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\varsigma \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$), \aleph B L Z, Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort.
107. .. xvii. 22. "while they abode in Galilee." So C D, etc.,

- Revisers (text); "while they were gathering themselves together," \aleph B, editors, and Revisers (margin).
109. Matt. xviii. 12. \aleph E, etc., Revisers; B L, Westcott and Hort.
110. „ xviii. 14. "it is not the will of your Father." So \aleph D, etc., Latin and Syriac Versions, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); "my Father," B F and some other MSS., Egyptian Versions, Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text).
111. „ xviii. 15. "if thy brother shall trespass against thee." So D, etc., Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers (text); omit "against thee," \aleph B, Alford (text), Lachmann, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
112. „ xviii. 19. "Again I say unto you." So \aleph D and some other MSS., Tischendorf, Revisers; "Again verily I say," B E, etc., Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort.
113. „ xviii. 26. "Lord, have patience with me." So \aleph etc., Revisers; omit "Lord," B D, editors.
117. „ xix. 4. "he which made them." So \aleph C, etc., most editors, Revisers (text); "created," B, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
119. „ xix. 9. "and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery." So B C* Z, and some other MSS., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); omit whole clause, \aleph D L, Alford, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
124. „ xix. 29. "an hundredfold." So \aleph C D, etc., Revisers (text); "manifold," B L, editors, and Revisers (margin).
126. „ xxi. 12. "And Jesus went into the temple of God." So C D, etc., Tischendorf, Weiss (text), Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); omit "of God," \aleph B L, Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss (as alternative), Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
132. „ xxi. 29. In the parable of the two sons there is a transposition of order in the question and answers in B, which is adopted in part by McClellan, and entirely by Weiss and Westcott and Hort (but with mark indicating probable corruption); the common order is retained by \aleph C D, etc., other editors, and Revisers.

136. Matt. xxii. 19. "And the wedding was furnished with guests." So C D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, Alford, McClellan, Revisers; "wedding chamber" (for "wedding") \aleph B* L, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort.
142. .. xxiii. 4. "and grievous to be borne." So B D, etc., Lachmann, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text). Omit \aleph L. Old Latin and Syriac Versions, Alford, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
146. .. xxiii. 24. \aleph C D, etc., Revisers; B D* L, Westcott and Hort.
148. .. xxiii. 38. "your house is left unto you desolate." So \aleph C etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); omit "desolate." B L, Lachmann, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
153. .. xxiv. 24. "they shall deceive the very elect." So B Δ , etc., Lachmann, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, (margin). Revisers; "even the elect should be deceived," \aleph D, Tischendorf, and similarly L Z, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort (text).
155. .. xxiv. 31. "with a great sound of a trumpet." So B, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); "with a great trumpet," \aleph L Δ , Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
159. .. xxiv. 37. "But as the days of Noe were." So \aleph L, etc., Tischendorf, Revisers; "For as," etc., B D and another uncial MS., Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort.
167. .. xxv. 16. "and made them other five talents." Similarly, \aleph * A*, etc., Tischendorf, Revisers; "gained other five," B L (and some others partially), Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort.
182. .. xxvii. 4. "in that I have betrayed the innocent blood." So ("innocent"), \aleph A B* C, etc., most editors, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); "righteous," B (second corrector), L, Egyptian Versions, Origen, Cyprian, etc., Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).

184. Matt. xxvii. 24. "I am innocent of the blood of that just person." So \aleph L, etc., text of Lachmann, Tregelles, Weiss, Revisers, Westcott and Hort (margin); "this blood" (omitting "just person"), B D, Tischendorf, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text), and other editors as alternative, Revisers (margin).
189. „ xxvii. 49. Insert (as John xix. 34). "And another took a spear and pierced his side, and there came out blood and water," \aleph B C L, Westcott and Hort (but within double brackets), Revisers (margin).
190. „ xxvii. 56. "Mary the mother of James and Joses." "Joseph," \aleph^* D* L, Tischendorf, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text), not Revisers.

Many things come out distinctly on a systematic review which are only imperfectly apprehended while they are left to vague general impression; and there is more than one point on which I must confess that my own previous impression of the Revised Text has been modified by the more complete collection of the data given above. We shall now be in a position, so far as one Gospel can be taken as a sample of the rest of the work, to draw some general conclusions as to the relation of the Revised Text to that of recent critical editors, and as to the principles upon which it would seem to have been based in reference to the primary authorities. We will take each of these points separately.

Relation of the Revised Text to Critical Editions. That of Drs. Westcott and Hort has been adopted above as a sort of standard of comparison. When tested by reference to this, it appears that out of 195 distinct instances the Revised Text agrees with the text compared with it in 146, and differs from it in 49: the real proportion of agreement is probably larger still, as a number of minute points have been left unnoticed; and it is just on these minutest points that the unanimity of editors is usually most complete. It will be observed, however, that of the 146 instances in

which the Revised Text agrees with Westcott and Hort's, in as many as 75 it has also the consent of the other critical editors; and in 31 more it has the support of "most" of them. It should be said that this term, "most editors," has been applied with considerable reserve. Only in some three or four cases is there more than one dissentient; in 16 instances the dissentient is Lachmann or Tregelles; in two instances the dissentient is Alford, who has not been systematically quoted and to whose isolated opinion no great importance need be attached; in three instances Tischendorf dissents; in two Weiss and in one Weiss (margin); only on seven occasions (of which, one, No. 97 is doubtful, and no less than three, Nos. 105, 120, 121 are represented only in the "Errata") does the dissent of a critic like McClellan at all denote an opposition of principle, while in two at least, out of these seven instances, Nos. 120, 121, Dr. Scrivener, who in general upholds the same views as Mr. McClellan, is found on the side of the majority. In every other case "most editors" may be taken to include McClellan, and in all these McClellan and Westcott and Hort are ranged together. We shall not be far wrong, then, if we assume that here is a practical consent of editors in something like 100 out of the 146 cases in which the Revisers and Westcott and Hort are agreed. These may, to all intents be put aside as not open to very much doubt; and, whenever in these examples the Revisers have made a change, it may be assumed that it is a clear and tolerably certain improvement. There remain some 46 instances in which there is a division of opinion, and the Revisers side with Westcott and Hort; and 49 instances in which there is a similar division and they side against them. Now, quite independently of the merits of particular cases, when we consider the heterogeneous composition of the Committee, how large a conservative element there was upon it, and the fact that a two-thirds vote was necessary to carry any change—when

we consider all these drawbacks in the direction of conservatism, I think it will be admitted that there is a decided presumption in favour of the points on which the Revisers and such thorough-going critics as Drs. Westcott and Hort are agreed; and, on the other hand, the 49 instances of difference will represent nothing more than the natural admixture of caution which was sure to be present, and which most people would wish to see. This will become still more evident when I proceed to analyse the relation of the Revisers to the evidence of the MSS. But before passing on to this there are a few remarks still to make on the subject of editors. In the first place it will naturally be asked: What special examples are there of the influence of the two Cambridge editors on the decisions of the Committee? The only instance that I have observed in which the Revisers have admitted a reading into the text on the sole authority of Drs. Westcott and Hort is No. 90, "blind guides," for "blind guides" (or "leaders") "of the blind." The evidence for this is \aleph^* B D, Old Syriac, and some MSS. of the Version of Lower Egypt. There is nothing very adventurous in this change; and the wonder only seems to be that other editors have not adopted it. The Revisers were evidently so clear in their own minds on the subject that they have not even mentioned the older reading in the margin. I am rather surprised at this, as it would have been consistent with their own practice elsewhere to mention it, and Westcott and Hort themselves place in the margin *ὁδηγοὶ εἰσιν τυφλοὶ* [τυφλῶν]. In one other instance, No. 30, "his kingdom and his righteousness," for "the kingdom of God and his righteousness," the Revisers have followed Westcott and Hort, with Tischendorf only, on the somewhat slender authority of \aleph and B (in part, with an inversion of the order which is accepted in the text by Lachmann and Weiss). Here, again, strange to say, they give no alternative in the margin. These are not very conspicuous instances of the

influence of the two joint-editors. It appears, however, more prominently in a number of readings which have not indeed been adopted into the text, but for which a place, otherwise doubtful, has been secured in the margin. Among the most marked of these are two that are quoted as signal examples of the untrustworthy character of $\aleph B$; No. 25, where in the clause "your Father knoweth what things ye have need of," these MSS read "God your Father," the intrusive word being commonly regarded as an explanatory gloss; and No. 37, "I also am a man under authority," where the same pair read "set under authority," with a suspicious resemblance to St. Luke vii. 8. In each case the reading is placed in the text (but in single brackets) by Westcott and Hort; and in each case the Revisers have also admitted it into the margin. Another strong case would be the admission to the margin of an apparent interpolation from St. John (No. 189), which Westcott and Hort doubly bracket, but which they are the only editors to recognize in any way. A word shall be said about it presently. No. 100 is also deserving of special notice. The reading "Jesus Christ" is here substituted for "Jesus" of the Received Text on the strength of $\aleph^c B^c$, by Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and is also mentioned by the Revisers in their margin. It will have been observed that this combination, though found in the introductions to the Gospels and frequently in the Epistles, is, as a rule, excluded from the Gospel narratives. Other instances in which the influence of Westcott and Hort may be traced are Nos. 80, 117, 134, 148, 182, 183. On the other hand, there are also instances in which this influence might have been expected to make itself felt, but has not done so. Such would be Nos. 92, 112, 113, 124, 132, 136, 158, 167, 190. In all but one of these the reading of Westcott and Hort is passed over in silence; and in that one (No. 124) a reading which might well have claimed a place in the text, inasmuch as it is adopted not only by

Westcott and Hort, but by all the other editors, is relegated to the margin. This is not the only curious phenomenon connected with this group of readings. No. 113 is another which has been adopted, in direct opposition to the general consent of the editors—again including McClellan. McClellan himself is the one authority that has been followed in No. 77, and Tischendorf is the only ally of the Revisers in Nos. 112, 159, 167. Here again are results for which we should hardly have been prepared. The clue to them will be, perhaps, to some extent supplied by the next division of our subject.

The Relation of the Revised Text to the principal MSS. This may be shewn, perhaps, most concisely in the form of a table. The Revisers are in agreement with the following groups of MSS. in the following instances.

ⲛ B alone of uncial MSS. (13), (15), 17, 29, (30), 44, 45, 52, 60, 65, 68, (73), 83, 98, 105, 106, 162, 166, 193 = 19 at most or 15 at least.

Note that the bracketed figures denote instances which do not quite strictly come under this category though they approach to it nearly.

ⲛ B and one other (usually ⲛ B D, ⲛ B L, ⲛ B Z). 1, 5, 6, 10, 21, 23, 26, 33, 35, 47, 54, 56, 57, 66, 71, 72, 75, 87, 90, 91, 93, 96, 101, 102, 103, 108, 114, 122, 130, 131, 135, 137, 156, 158 (*bis*), 176, 177, 178, 181, 192, 194 = 41.

B and one other, not ⲛ. 62, 123, 138, 158 = 4.

B and two others, ⲛ not being one. 41, 76, 88, 91 = 4.

B alone. 133 = 1.

It has not been thought worth while to give instances of the combination ⲛ B and *two* others. To the best of my recollection there are only three examples in this Gospel (Nos. 59, 104, 189) in which such a combination is opposed.

I now proceed to give a corresponding table of the

instances in which the Revisers have resisted the evidence of the same groups, premising that not quite the same amount of care has been taken to make it exhaustive. The Revisers are opposed to the following groups in the following instances.

ⲛ B alone of uncial MSS. 8, 9, 14, 25, 34, 37, 49, 63, 77, 100, 107, 111 = 12.

ⲛ B and one other. 25, 126, 136 = 3.

B and one other, not ⲛ. 31, 50 (corrector of ⲛ), 58, 82, 109, 113, 124, 148, 184 = 9. Compare 118, 185.

B and two others, ⲛ not being one. 146, 159 = 2.

B alone. 33, 40, 79, 80, 117, 132 = 6. Compare 4, 67.

The reason why B and its supporters other than ⲛ, figure to such a comparatively small extent in both tables is the obvious one that the affinity between B and ⲛ is so great that, when either receives the support of the other greater uncials, the chances are that the companion MS. is included in the same group. It should be remembered, however, that the instances in which ⲛ and B each heads an array of minor MSS. have not been analysed, so that the agreement between the two may seem rather larger than it is.

From the above tables the procedure of the Revisers will become sufficiently clear. It is evident that the combination of ⲛ B with two or more of the greater uncials has been treated by them as all but decisive. The combination of ⲛ B with one other first-class uncial has also had the greatest weight. We have seen that there are forty-one instances of agreement with this combination and only three instances of difference from it. When we come to the single pair, ⲛ B alone, there is much greater indecision. Their authority has been followed in from 15 to 19 cases, and

rejected in 12. With any other single supporter than **N**, B has carried less weight still, the numbers being here 9 (or rather 11) to 4, while the isolated evidence of B has been rejected in 6 cases out of 7, or 9 out of 10.

Now if we look back at the instances in which the Revisers were found to be at variance with the main body of editors, they will be found to come for the most part under this head. In No. 77 the rejected reading only has the support of **N** B, in 113 of B D, in 124 of B L, in 159 of B D, and one other secondary MS. This would seem to have been the cause of the Revisers' hesitation. They evidently required a strong amount of internal or collateral evidence to induce them to accept the authority of any two even of the very best MSS., where the mass of authorities was on the other side. Nor will the strongest upholder of quality against quantity find fault with this degree of caution, even though there may be several cases where he himself would have come to a different decision.

I have been asked to give an opinion, and I will give one—for what it is worth. The instances in which it seems to me that the Revisers might most reasonably have come to another conclusion, even upon their own principles, would be Nos. 50, 59, 104, 112, 113, 124, 136, 167. No. 50 appears to me to be a singularly neat example of the rule of internal evidence—that that reading is to be preferred which most satisfactorily explains the rest: if we assume that the original reading here was *εἰς προσελθόν*, all the variations seem to be easily accounted for—*εἰς* in *EICΠPOCEΛΘΩN* being mistaken for the preposition, and then first one preposition being dropped and then the other. In 59, 104 and 136 the external evidence (**N** B D Z, **N** B L Z, and **N** B L) appears to be too preponderant; nor does there seem to be any very strong internal evidence to countervail it. In the remaining instances the weight of internal evidence seems to be against the Revisers.

But none of these examples is of any great moment. Taking the Revised Text as a whole, enough will have been seen to shew that it is really a very good one. A large proportion of the changes made are such as must be generally acquiesced in; and, in regard to the remainder, there is at once a praiseworthy amount of method and consistency; and there are, at the same time, abundant signs that the claims of the competing readings have been weighed with much independence and care. There must always be a certain residuum of readings as to which the evidence is so nicely balanced that either conclusion must be open to doubt; and, when due allowance is made for this, the number of cases in which the Revisers have probably come to a wrong decision will not be a large one. A judicious use has been made of the margin. Many readings that might easily have escaped notice one is glad to find there, and the omissions are not numerous. The cases where I should myself desire to see a marginal note are Nos. 16 (comp. 134), 42, 92, 112, 113, 159, 167. A question is very likely to be asked as to the precise significance of the different forms of marginal note, "some ancient authorities," "many ancient authorities," "many authorities some ancient," and so on. I can only reply that, as far as I have observed, the terms are chosen with much care; but they must not be taken to mean more than they do. In each case the note means precisely what it says, but it is not a "word to the wise," into which it is possible to read hidden meanings. "Some ancient authorities" may mean \times B, or it may mean a much weaker combination. "Many ancient authorities" may denote a combination which the practised critic would pretty certainly accept, or one which he would as probably reject. There are some of these notes, however, such as "many authorities, some ancient, but with variations," "many very ancient authorities," which really tell their own tale.

I cannot leave this part of my subject without stopping to point out just one moral. It is a moral which seems to emerge of itself whenever textual criticism is treated at all systematically. I mean the extent to which even these rough and imperfect investigations, in spite of the limited area which they cover, tend to confirm the main principles laid down at the beginning of this article. They will shew how necessary it is to have some conception of the history and growth of the text; and what chaotic inconsistency and confusion is introduced by those who attempt to judge each reading independently of the rest, assigning as it were to each MS. a certain number of marks in proportion to the age of its parchment, but letting the actual decision turn on what is thought to be the internal evidence, and what is really the partial aspect of such evidence as it presents itself to one particular mind. Mr. McClellan, with all his ability, has fallen entirely into this pitfall. Any one who will examine a portion of his text consecutively will find him rejecting in one breath a body of evidence which he accepts in the next, every now and then falling into a violent panic at **N B** from which he gradually recovers, but only after a time to fall into a panic again, like a patient who suffers from intermittent fever.

In the portion of text which our examination has covered there are only, I believe, three at all considerable difficulties to which the opposite theory is exposed. These are the two examples of which I spoke above, Nos. 25 and 37, in which **N B** have strong *primâ facie* internal evidence against them, and No. 189, where **N B C L** admit what appears to be an almost certain interpolation from St. John. Let us think, however, what this comes to at the worst. It means that the common original of those four MSS. represents a text not older than the date at which St. John's Gospel became generally current. Recent investigations have shewn decisively that this was the case in the time

of Justin and his disciple Tatian. But there are a thousand indications in the relation of that text to the early Fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, Cyprian, and in its relation to the early versions, which shew that the main stock of this combined text cannot be later than such a date. A little while before the death of Justin, which Dr. Hort places about 148 A.D., will give us about the point desired. A text dating as far back as this would still be liable to some corruption (and in Justin himself corruption is found at a rather advanced stage); and we have at once room for the comparatively few errors by which the text of \aleph B and their companion MSS. is defaced, and a sufficient account of its great excellence.

These are, however, just the points on which we shall look with the greatest interest for the enlightenment that we are sure to receive when the introductory portion of the great work to which allusion has been so often made above is published. So far as I can see at present, the theory of textual criticism that is there maintained is not only open to far fewer difficulties than any other, but is really the only consistent and comprehensive theory that even attempts to take in *the whole* of the phenomena. Still it too is not entirely without its difficulties; and it would certainly have been a fortunate thing if those difficulties could have been thoroughly thrashed out, and the whole question placed upon a firm and stable footing before the Revised Version had been undertaken. It is not quite so true as Heraclitus supposed, that all things are in a state of flux. Much, indeed, there is that is constantly fluctuating.

“Powers depart,
“Possessions vanish, and opinions change.”

But in questions of science the flux leads ultimately to rest. And if there is any one branch of theology which

possesses this truly scientific character, it is precisely that of textual criticism. A few years may see the labours of generations, accumulating slowly but surely, at last reach their goal. And then it may be a source of regret that this weighty task of Revision had not been reserved until its first and perhaps greatest half was already done, and all that remained for the Revisers was to step into and occupy ground prepared for them. We may dream of such a state of things; and the dream seems to have some not inconsiderable auguries of its own accomplishment. Still, it may after all prove fallacious; and, in the meantime, we must not let "the better" be "the enemy of the good,"—especially where the difference between "the good" and a possible "better" is so small.¹

W. SANDAY.

SOME FEATURES OF THE LIFE EVERLASTING.

ST. JOHN xiv. 2, 23.

IN discussing the Vision of Isaiah a number or two back,² I said: "We often speak of that bourn from which no traveller returns, and lament that no one of those who have crossed the stream of death has ever come back to tell us what would have added praise to praise, by bringing us a report of the land that lies beyond." And in rebuke of the houghtlessness or ingratitude which prompts us to speak thus, I alluded to the fact that "He who could not be holden of death *had* returned to assure us that it is a wealthy land and a good," and passed on to point out that "a whole order of men, the prophets, have risen into the spiritual and

¹ The next article will consist of a review of some of the principal results of the Revision as it affects the text of the four Gospels.

² THE EXPOSITOR, vol. ii. p. 81.

eternal world, the world which lies beyond death and above life, and have come down from it to tell us what they had seen."

As my subject was "the Vision of Isaiah," I then naturally went on to indicate those features of the life eternal which were disclosed to the Prophet when he saw the Lord sitting on a throne high and lifted up, his train filling the temple. And now I should like to take up and expand the point I then passed over with a bare allusion, and to suggest how much we may learn of the life everlasting from the life and words of Him to whom all the prophets bear witness. For when I said that He who could not be holden of death had returned from beyond the bourn from which we have too hastily concluded that no traveller has returned, I did not tell the half of what He has done to reveal and illustrate the life of which we complain that we know so little, of which we sometimes complain that we know nothing at all. For not only did Christ enter into that life through the gate and avenue of death; He also came down from it through the gate and avenue of *birth*. The life everlasting was familiar to Him *before* He came and dwelt among us. It continued to be familiar to Him while He tabernacled with us. His whole life on earth is the express type and pattern of what our life in heaven, as well as in the kingdom of heaven, is to be. How, then, can we lament our entire ignorance of what the life everlasting is to be, when we have only to look at Him in order to see what it is! With what face can we go on repeating the old foolish complaints and longings—complaints of the darkness in which the future is hidden from us, and longings for some clear and cheerful light—when all the while the light is with us and the darkness has passed away!

What, then, it may be asked, do we learn, or what may we learn, from the life of Christ, of the life everlasting?

And, in reply, I may say that, in general, we learn that so

often as we rise into the life of faith, the life of righteousness, the life of love and service, we lay hold on life eternal, we practise ourselves in the life we are to live for ever. But this is so obviously true that I need not dwell upon it. Yet there is probably great need to insist on the immense worth of this reply, this revelation of what the spiritual and eternal life really is. For, when we speculate about the future life, we are too apt to let our thoughts settle on its mere conditions and accidents, rather than on its supreme and essential qualities. We want to know, for instance, what the place we are to inhabit is like; or who our companions are to be, and how many or how few; or whether we shall be in a body or out of a body; or whether we shall recognize those whom we have known here, and love those whom we have loved. Nor are such speculations to be hastily or intemperately condemned: it is natural, I suppose, and may be right, that we should indulge in them. But these, we should remember, are not the main questions. If we want to know what the life of any distinguished man was like, and what it was worth, we do not determine our answer to that question by ascertaining what his income was, or what class of house he had for his abode, or what was his personal appearance, or what costume he wore; but by finding out what he knew, what he thought, what he did, what, above all, was the ruling character and animating spirit of his life. The former series of questions is not without importance, indeed; for the answers to them help to throw light on the character of the man and his achievements: but they are important mainly as they do throw light on these. And, in like manner, it is not the accidents or details, it is not the conditions and costume of the heavenly life which are of the first importance to us, but its essential character, its ruling and animating spirit. When, therefore, we learn from Christ that the life of heaven is a life of righteousness, of charity, of service, we learn what it

is most important that we should know about it, and may well be content to leave its minor conditions and external accidents for future disclosure. Not that they *are* all of them so left; but that we should not need to fret and trouble ourselves even if they were. If our friends who are with God share his pure, loving, ministerial life,—if they possess the very life which was manifest in his Son Jesus Christ,—*as they do*,—what more need we ask or wish for them? And if we, when we die, are to share that life, what more do we need to know for ourselves, or how can we dare to say that we know nothing about the life beyond the bourn? We know *all*, or all that is of real and vital importance.

Nor is it only in his example that the Lord Jesus Christ reveals to us what we call the future life, but what He called “the life eternal.” He also revealed it, or many of its main features, in his words. And it is a curious instance of the foolish and complacent ignorance with which men are too often content, that, at times, even those who believe in Christ should speak of the future life as quite hidden from them, though all the while they hold in their hands words which, if duly studied, would disclose its main features to them; and never so much as suspect that they are guilty of the basest ingratitude in thus casting on *Him* the onus of an ignorance for which they themselves are alone to blame. Nor are these illuminating words, as a rule, mystical and remote, hard to get at or hard to understand; there would be some excuse for us if they were.

Take, for example, the words of Christ reported by St. John: *In my Father’s house are many mansions*. The words are simple enough. We have all read them, I suppose, almost as often as any words in the New Testament. We have only to meditate upon them for a few moments in order to find a meaning in them which gives us a new sense of the vastness of heaven, of the charm and variety of the life we

are to live in it, and of that curious and happy combination of repose and progress in it which meets and satisfies the two main currents of our nature : and yet how few of us have made that meaning our own !

It tasks no scholarship to see that our Lord, like the prophet Isaiah when *he* was caught up into heaven, had the Jewish temple in his mind ; and that He here represents heaven to us as “the spiritual and eternal antitype,” or archetype, of that transitory tabernacle. For the temple at Jerusalem had many courts, and many chambers ; it was the abode of many different kinds of men,—as priests, singers, scribes, porters, watchmen, soldiers. And in this respect, He tells us, it resembled his Father’s house. *That* also has many mansions, for many different kinds of man and spirit. For by his Father’s “house” I understand Him to mean the whole broad universe seen and unseen, with some of its mansions on this side the river of death, and some on that side ; just as some of the courts and chambers of the house at Jerusalem were on one side of the little stream that ran through it, and some on the other. When He leaves his disciples, therefore, when He is parted from them and taken up into heaven, they are not to let their hearts be “troubled,” as though He were really separated from them ; He will but have gone from one mansion of God’s house to another : the same great roof will still cover them both. And the mansions are *many*, because men are many, and that there may be room for them all. In other words, the universe is large and various because the Father in heaven has so many children, and must find a suitable home for every one of them. We are in one mansion of that great House even while we are on the earth. Our friends who have left the earth are only in another mansion, or chamber, of the same great House : they are still under the same broad roof with us ; and God is still their Father, as He is ours. We may as easily pass to them as a Jew could pass

from chamber to chamber, or go up from court to court, in the temple at Jerusalem.

And, lest even this familiar and homely figure should fail to reassure us, Christ passes on to say, *I go to prepare a place for you*.—to suit a place to you, to provide conditions for you so sweetly and delicately attuned to your individual needs and bents and cravings that each one of you will feel himself to be at home in it, feel too that his home is a heavenly home, whatever the chamber or mansion in which he may dwell; nay, for only thus do we reach the full force of the phrase, in a *heaven of his own*, a place that he may call and know to be his very own—his private heaven, his personal abode.

The mansions are *many*, then, that there may be room for us all, and because there are so many of us; and the places are *prepared* with a view to our personal idiosyncracies, our individual leanings, necessities, preferences. So that the heavenly life is at once a large life, having the whole universe for its domain, and a life of infinite variety, exquisitely adapted to every man's wishes, culture, needs; and this life, at once so various and so large, is—as we have already seen—a pure and holy life, a life of righteousness and service; for all its mansions are parts of a temple and partake its sanctity, a temple in which God is worshipped day and night for ever.

These, surely, are pleasant and helpful thoughts concerning the future life; they lie on the very surface of our Lord's words, and may be picked up by any one who looks at them with a heedful eye. But for the next thought we must go a little beneath the surface, though not much. For, although the word *mansions* will suggest to every reader ideas of solid endurance and stately repose, we may not all know that the word *mansiones*, like the Greek word (*μοαί*) which it translates, means "resting-places," and indicates those "stations" on a great road where Eastern

travellers found, as they still find in similar caravanserais, both repose and refreshment. And that this is the true meaning of the word here, all scholars are agreed. So that when Christ says to us "In my Father's house are many *mansions*," by his very choice of this word He suggests to us that curious combination of the contrasted ideas of rest and progress which enter into all our conceptions of the heavenly life. When, and in proportion as, we enter on that life, we rest from toil, from strife, from care; and this rest, as it denotes an immense advance on our natural or earthly life, so also it predicts advances still to come, and speaks to us of an endless progress into the likeness and fellowship of God our Father as we pass from mansion to mansion of his great Home—resting in each, yet rising from one to another. Advance without restlessness, a journey in which every day will bring us to a fresh station, and every station will be a mansion, and every mansion a home, and every home made glad by our Father's presence and companionship; to be for ever drawing nearer to God, while yet we are for ever enjoying Him—this is the thought suggested to us by the phrase, *In my Father's house are many mansions*.

How much, then, have we learned from Christ; how many essential features of the life everlasting become plain to us as we study his life and words! The future life for which we look is not to be separated by any deep gulf, by any abrupt break, from the life we are now living, or may and ought to live. Our friends who have passed into it are not divided from us; they are under the same roof, though in different chambers or mansions of the same House; they are in the presence of the same Father; they share the same life with us. For we too enter on the life everlasting when we live a life of faith, of righteousness, of love, of service; and this life is at once large and various, at once pure and genial, at once stable and

advancing, at once a constant rest and a constant progress to a deeper rest ; it has the whole universe for its theatre ; and this theatre is a sacred and august temple, in every chamber of which we may worship the Father of our spirits, rejoice in his presence, and enter into a closer and more inward fellowship with Him.

All this, too, remember, we have learned from a single word of Christ ; and there are many such words, all waiting to yield us their store of precious meaning, and to enlarge our conceptions of the life that now is and of that which is to be, the very moment we meditate upon them.

Yes, *the life that now is*, as well as that which is to be. Let us mark that well, and lay the keenest emphasis upon it. For it is "the life everlasting" of which we are speaking, the true life of man in time as well as in eternity. And there are many who, while curiously speculating on the mysteries of the future life, neglect the duties of this present life, and fall short of the peace which might be theirs. Like Judas (Verse 22)—the honest and loyal Judas, not the traitor—they fail to understand how they may share the life eternal in the fleeting hours of time, how they may realize a Divine Presence, and feel that even here and now they are resting in one of the many mansions of the Father's house. Jesus had said (Verse 21) that He would manifest Himself to as many as loved Him and kept his commandments even after He had been taken up and vanished from their sight. Judas quite understood that in these words his Master was promising a special revelation of Himself, a revelation which would carry everlasting life with it, which would raise as many as received it into the very life that dwelt in Him, and draw them into a vital and constant fellowship with his Father. But Judas did not understand how these things could be. And so Christ had to teach him (Verse 23) that men's

power of receiving a Divine revelation depends on their active obedience of Divine commandments; and that active obedience, again, depends on personal and fervent love for the Giver of those commandments. Judas asked: "Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto *us*, and *not* unto the world?" And Jesus replied: "If a man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and make our abode with him." In other words, Christ taught him that the Divine manifestation and fellowship are limited, not by any lack of love and bounty in God, but by the lack of love, and therefore the lack of receptivity, in man. For how can even God Himself give men what men cannot or will not take? But if any man *will* take, God will give. Let him but open the hands of love and obedience, and his hands will instantly be filled. Now, and here, he will see God, and in God his Father, and by that vision be raised into the life everlasting. And, as if to impress this thought upon us, our Lord uses in Verse 23 the very word He had already used in Verse 2; and as there He had spoken of the many mansions in his Father's house, so here He says, "If any man love me and keep my word, my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and make our abode"—our *mansion*—"with him."

Here, then, and now, we may dwell, we may work and rest, in *one* of the many mansions. Here, and now, we may have our Father always with us. Here, and now, we may enter on the life everlasting, the life of love, of obedience, of service; that large yet various life, that stable yet advancing life, that life of rest and yet of progress, of growth and yet of peace, which is the strength and joy of heaven. For if we know and are sure that, whatever our lot and outward conditions may be, or however they may change, we are always in God's house, and that God

is always with us—loving us because we love Him, ministering to us because we serve Him, blessing us because we worship Him in all we do—we are settled and stablished in a peace which none of the chances and changes of time can disturb; at a single stroke we are freed from the stings of vanity, and the frets of care, and the torments of fear, and the pangs of loss. We are one with God in a growing fellowship, in a growing yet always satisfying peace; and what harm can time and change do to those who are one with the Lord of change and time? what harm can death itself do us when even death is, for us, only a messenger sent to call us to some ampler mansion of the House and Temple in which we already abide, and to conduct us to a place still more exquisitely prepared for us?

S. Cox.

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST OF ST. PAUL.

IV. THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

GALATIANS ii. 9. “James, Cephas, and John, who are held to be pillars.” We have selected this portion of the verse in order to mark the fact that a new apostolic name is here introduced to our notice. We have already heard in this Pauline Gospel of a Cephas, and a James, and have been able to identify the one certainly, and the other probably, with men bearing the same names in our own historical Gospels. Here there is brought before us a third disciple, named John, who is said to have occupied in the primitive Church a position of equal authority with the other two. When we turn to our Gospels we find there also the record of a specially favoured disciple whose name was John. It is interesting to mark the fact, because, if St. Paul had

not recorded the name of this disciple, there would, in all probability, have been found some mythical reason for explaining its insertion in our Gospel narrative; the beloved disciple has made a narrow escape.

Is what we know of these Apostles from the Epistles of St. Paul consistent with what we are told of them in the Gospels which have come down to us? Concerning James these Gospels are almost silent; but, if he were identical with the son of Alphæus, he must, even in the lifetime of the Christian Founder, have been held in some esteem. He does not however become a *pillar* until we meet with him in the Book of Acts; and there we find him at the head of the Jerusalem Church. As the Book of Acts is properly the sequel of St. Luke's narrative, it may, in this light, be regarded as a part of our third Gospel. So far, therefore, the testimony of St. Paul may be said to be in harmony with the Evangelical record. Regarding Cephas there is more revealed in our narratives; he is the most prominent figure of all the apostolic band. He is evidently the most prominent figure to the eye of St. Paul also; for we have seen how the Gentile Apostle, before entering on his active ministry, went up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Peter. We are told, in our Narratives, that Peter was favoured in being specially singled out as a witness of Christ's resurrection; and we are told by St. Paul that in his time he stood forth as the earliest of its witnesses. The fact of such prominence and the selection to such privileges would alone be sufficient to prove that the character of Cephas was that of a bold and strong man. Yet, in admitting this, our Narratives recognize in him a seemingly contradictory element, a certain weakness and vacillation of spirit which faints in the sea of trouble and deserts its Lord in the judgment-hall. St. Paul gives us a picture in every sense harmonious. He shews us a man evidently given to command, and selected as the fittest

to guide the deliberations of the early Church. Yet he shews us in this man the same element of weakness which our Gospels shew, the same vacillation of purpose, the same inability to adhere to the natural convictions of his mind. The man whom St. Paul had to rebuke at Antioch is precisely that Peter whom our Christian tradition portrays.

From the meagreness of the reference which St. Paul makes to John we cannot gather much as to his character; and therefore it is more difficult than in the case of Peter to determine the harmony of the Epistle with the narrative of the Gospel. We see here, indeed, that John was the man of a party; and from our Synoptic Gospels we learn that there was in him somewhat of the spirit of a partizan. The tendency to separatism appears in his request to sit in the kingdom at his Lord's right hand; and the fire of party zeal is manifested in the desire to call down destruction upon the village of Samaria. The same strongly polemical bias is manifested in the Apocalypse, which has come down to us as the reputed work of his hand; and, strange to say, it breathes not less strongly in that fourth of our present Gospels which Christian tradition has associated with his name. It is averred, however, that the John of the fourth Gospel is the advocate of a different party from the John of the Apocalypse; the former is the opponent of the Jews, the latter is the adversary of the Gentiles. In that sentiment we cannot concur. The writer of the fourth Gospel is indeed the constant opponent of a party whom he calls the Jews; but he does not mean by that name to designate the Jewish theocracy: he is rather, as it seems to us, describing a particular sect in the religious commonwealth of Israel, who had probably, *par excellence*, arrogated to themselves the name of Jews, just as a party in the Corinthian Church arrogated to themselves the name of the Messiah. There is, indeed, to our mind a very strong analogy between the theological spirit

of the fourth Gospel and the theological spirit of the Apocalypse; both are eminently theocratic, and both express their theocratic tendency through the medium of types and symbols. The central thought of the Apocalypse is the advent out of heaven of a new Jerusalem; in other words, of a theocracy which is to revive the past under new conditions of being. The central thought of the fourth Gospel is also the institution of a new and higher Judaism, in which the ladder between earth and heaven shall be the Son of Man, and in which the manna shall be replaced by the bread of life. There is contemplated the rise of a new theocratic Jerusalem in which the head of the theocracy shall be not the distant Father, but the human Son: "The Father loveth the Son and hath given all things into his hand." There is contemplated the institution of a new passover, in which the Son of Man shall break the bread of life and distribute it to his followers. There is contemplated a new condition of admittance into the theocratic kingdom, and the element of circumcision fades away in that second birth which it foreshadows. The John of the Synoptics, of the fourth Gospel, of the Apocalypse, and of St. Paul, must alike be regarded as the representative of Christian Judaism.

There is one point, however, which is worthy of a moment's attention. St. Paul here declares that John was esteemed a *pillar* in the Church. The question is, Why? There were twelve Apostles; and apostleship itself in its original aspect implied that he who bore the office had been a personal witness of the Master's life and work. But here is an apostleship within an apostleship; three of the Twelve are singled out from their fellows. St. Paul is here in perfect harmony with the narrative of the Synoptists; for there also we find a favoured three. In each case the names are the same—Peter, James, and John; only, the James of St. Paul's Epistle is not the

James of the Synoptists. We have accounted for the pre-eminence of this Pauline James by the fact that he was supposed to have received a special communication from the lips of the risen Lord. We can account for Peter's pre-eminence on the ground that he was regarded as the first personal witness of Christ's resurrection; and that he was so regarded we can gather from St. Paul irrespective altogether of our Gospel testimony. The point to be observed in each of these cases is the fact that the apostleship within the apostleship was constituted according to the comparative nearness which the disciples had borne to the person of the Master; those who had seen most of Him, heard most of Him, and known most of Him, were esteemed the pillars of the Church.

Now, with this fact in view, we can somewhat amplify the meagreness of the Pauline reference to John; or, rather, we can find in that reference the implication of more than is expressed. When John is said to have been esteemed a pillar, it is clearly indicated that he was regarded as having enjoyed a very close degree of fellowship with the Christian Founder; he was revered as one whom men believed to have seen and heard and handled the Word of Life. We need not say that, in this, St. Paul is amply corroborated by our present Narratives. In the first three Gospels John accompanies the Master alike to the transfiguration and to the garden; in the fourth he is not obscurely indicated as the disciple whom Jesus loved, and receives, along with Peter, a special manifestation of the risen Lord. We are able, therefore, to trace in this faint Pauline reference to the life of John another point of meeting between the Christ of St. Paul and the Christ of the Evangelists. We see that, by a coincidence evidently undesigned, the Apostle of the Gentiles has struck out a path in harmony with our present biographies of the Christian Founder. Had he never

mentioned the name of John, men might have asked why the beloved disciple should have been held so insignificant by his contemporaries; when he mentions him as a pillar of the Church, we become warranted, even apart from the fourth Gospel, in concluding that in some sense he must have been a beloved disciple.

Galatians iv. 4. We have now come to what we may call the Pauline Gospel of the Infancy. We are arrested at the outset by the fact that, to the mind of St. Paul, the advent of Christianity was not a phenomenon isolated from the stream of history; it was itself the result of a previous development: "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law." The expression "fulness of the time" indicates that, to the Apostle's mind, Christianity was no accident, but that, on its human side at least, it had its origin in the past and had been developed by antecedent circumstances. We may compare St. Mark i. 15, "When the time was fulfilled." The connexion of Christianity's advent with the laws of human history is implied in all the narratives of our Gospels—in St. Matthew's star of the east, in St. Luke's portrait of earnest souls waiting for the consolation of Israel, and in St. John's bold announcement that the Word who was made flesh had been from the beginning of time the light which had lighted every man. In this latest reference, indeed, we are brought very near to the Pauline conception. The writer of the fourth Gospel attributes to the incarnate Word a pre-existent life; St. Paul also attributes pre-existence to the Son of Man. It is vain to say, in the light of such a passage as this, that the doctrine of the fourth Gospel is a development of the second century. The pre-existence of Christ is as broadly stated by St. Paul, in the immediate apostolic age, as it is by the writer of the fourth Gospel, whoever he may have been, and

at whatever time he may have written ; nay, we have no hesitation in saying that it is more broadly stated by St. Paul in the passage before us than it is in the prologue to the fourth Gospel. The writer of that prologue says that the Word *was made* flesh ; St. Paul says that God *sent forth* his Son. In the former case the language might suggest to us the idea of a transformation in the Divine essence ; in the latter, there is no possibility of such a mistake. The pre-existent state of Christ is, with St. Paul, a pre-existent humanity ; before his human birth He is still the Son. His birth is not a transformation of his nature ;. it is a *sending forth* of his nature into an earthly sphere. St. Paul is not afraid to conjoin those elements so repulsive to one another in the view alike of Jew and Gentile—the element of weakness and the element of Divinity. In the true spirit of that third Gospel, with whose composition in the opinion of many he had something to do, he boldly connects the weakness of the human birth and the frailty of the human infancy with the strength and the majesty of the pre-existent Sonship.

Let us look, now, at the facts to be gathered from this Pauline Gospel of the Infancy. The first point which deserves our attention is the phrase, “ *Born of a woman.*” In reading that phrase we must be careful to avoid two extremes—that of making the words mean too much, and that of making the words mean nothing. On the one hand, it would be imparting too much to St. Paul’s words to see in them a reference to the virginity of Mary ; and the more so as the special object of St. Paul in this passage is to direct attention rather to the humiliation than to the exaltation of the Messiah, to withdraw the mind from his miraculous environment to the contemplation of his lowly circumstances ; he wants to shew that He was really born. But, on the other hand, it would be equally erroneous to conclude that, in using the phrase “ born of a woman,” St. Paul is

guilty of a redundancy. It is sometimes said, for instance, that he only meant to employ a colloquial form of expression, as in St. Matthew xi. 11, where Christ is represented as saying, that of those who have been born of woman there had not risen a greater than the Baptist, though the least in the kingdom was greater than he. It is assumed in this reference that St. Matthew's phrase, "Born of woman" is redundant. We do not think it is. It is to our mind perfectly clear that there was present to the Evangelist the contrast between the earthly and the celestial birth, between the child-life that enters into the kingdom of this world and the child-life that enters into the kingdom of heaven; the former is *born of woman*, the latter is born of the Spirit. The Evangelist means to say, or means to record the saying, that John the Baptist had reached as high as any man could reach who had been born of a purely natural lineage, but that a race of men was coming who, in the language of the fourth Gospel, should be born not of the flesh, but of the will of God.

Now if we approach St. Paul's words from this point of view, we shall see them in a new light. We shall find that the phrase, "Born of a woman," so far from being redundant, is designed to mark a contrast. The question is, what is the contrast intended? What is the idea which in the mind of St. Paul is opposed to the human birth of Jesus? It is clearly a *superhuman* birth; or, to speak more correctly, a superhuman mode of entering into the world. It will be remembered that in our Section on 1 Corinthians xv. we had occasion to point out that, shortly after the writing of that Epistle, there appeared the famous Cerinthian heresy which denied that Christ had been born an infant, but declared that He had entered the soul of the man Jesus at the moment of his baptism. We said there was reason to think that, at the time when St. Paul was writing these Epistles, this heresy of Cerinthus was already

in the air. If the conclusion at which we there arrived be accepted, it will furnish a key to the passage before us. It will enable us to see in St. Paul's words a protest against the incipient tendency to explain away the Christ of the manger. We shall interpret him as saying that this Being whom Christendom adored had not entered into the world by an altogether superhuman channel, but on one side of his nature had been borne into it by a natural stream. The Christ is not an emanation which descends upon the Jesus at his baptism; He enters into the Jesus in his infancy; He breathes along with Him his first breath of life; He is "born of a woman."

The second point suggested by this Pauline Gospel of the Infancy is contained in the words, "*made under the law.*" Strictly speaking, it should read, "*born under the law,*" as in the previous clause. But in this case the English rendering, although verbally less accurate, seems to us ideally the more true; it expresses more nearly the thought which is animating the Apostle's mind. St. Paul wishes to emphasize the fact that the life of the Christian Founder was a life of humiliation; and he tells us that one great source of the humiliation lay in the subjection of the Divine Nature to the authority of that law which had originally been designed only for the restraint of sinful beings. He does not merely mean to state that Christ was born under the law; to say so would have been no more than to say that he was a Jewish child. What St. Paul wants to state is that the life of the Christian Founder was brought, by the circumstances of his human birth, into close and intimate relationship with the law of Judaism; and that although, by the Divine energy of his own nature, the Messiah was able to be good and to do good spontaneously, He yet evinced the humility of his character by consenting to be good and to do good in obedience to the command of God.

Looking at the matter in this light, we are supplied with a key to many details of the early life of Jesus. The phrase, "made under the law," is a comprehensive one; in one sense it embraces the whole education of a Jewish youth. It shews us in brief compass what, in the view of St. Paul, was the history of Christ's infancy and boyhood. We have here only to do with the points in which the phrase covers the statements contained in our Christian tradition. It will be found that it covers many of these. It tells us that on the eighth day the child Jesus was circumcised, and that after forty days he was presented by his parents in the temple. It tells us that his life of childhood was one of subjection to authority, one of growth and development in the two spheres of the Divine commandments—the duty towards God and the duty towards man. It tells us that at twelve or thirteen years of age He began to enter upon that period of responsibility in which an individual soul takes upon itself the vows which others have made for it, began that course of personal study and that process of individual questioning which revealed the dawning fact that He had business in the house of his Father. It even suggests the probability that the Messiah waited till his thirtieth year before entering on his earthly ministry; for we know that to have been the age at which the Levites assumed their official duties. Upon the whole it is not too much to say that, in this utterance of the Gentile Apostle, we have as clear a revelation of the early life of Jesus as that which our Gospels profess to unfold. We see the Messiah born of Jewish parents, and therefore circumcised into the Jewish polity. We see Him submitting to a human growth, and passing through a human development in which He is instructed in the traditions of the fathers, and trained in the precepts of the Jewish law. We see Him at twelve years of age emerging into the self-consciousness of religious responsi-

bility, and appropriating those Judaic privileges to which others had made Him the heir. We see Him at last, when the fulness of the time was come, coming forth to the exercise of his royal priesthood, and inaugurating his opening manhood by the initiation into his ministry of love. We have only further to remark that, in thus associating, in proof of Christ's humiliation, the idea of his spontaneous holiness and the thought of his submission to moral command, St. Paul is in full agreement with the tone of our Synoptic narratives. There, too, there occurs to the mind of the Baptist the sense of an incompatibility between the native greatness of the Messiah and his desire to submit Himself to that baptismal ordinance which had been instituted for sinful penitents: "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" There, too, the incompatibility is solved by the Son of Man's voluntary humiliation: "Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness."

Galatians vi. 2. "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." These words are remarkable as a direct illustration of that principle to which we have frequently adverted—the basing of all Christian morality upon the authority of the Christian Founder. To bear the burdens of others might well have seemed to St. Paul a dictate of the intuitive moral consciousness, and might well have been commanded by him on the ground of that inward intuition. But this is not the ground on which St. Paul commands it; he appeals to a positive historical authority, which he calls "the law of Christ;" and he asks men to bear the burdens of others, not because that precept was written in their hearts, but because it had been given by Him who was the object of their worship. In writing to these Galatians, wavering as they were between Christianity and Judaism, he evidently speaks of

the law of Christ in contradistinction to the law of Moses. It is as if he had said, "Do not think that, in coming from Judaism to Christianity, you are passing from a region of positive certainty into a world of mystic obscurity; we too have a historic Lawgiver who has uttered his voice from the mount of God, and who speaks with an authority which Moses never wielded. You have received from Moses only the negative precept—the command not to hurt your brother; we offer you a law of Christ which commands you to identify your brother's interests with your own: 'Bear ye one another's burdens.'"

Our Gospels distinctly represent Christ as bearing the burdens which He relieved (St. Matt. viii. 17); they not less distinctly represent Him as laying down for man the burden-bearing law of love (St. John xiii. 34). In the passage before us, however, the idea suggested by St. Paul is not so much that of burden-bearing in general, as that of a particular kind of burden-bearing. When he says, "Bear ye one another's burdens," he is evidently referring us back to the words spoken in the previous verse; and when we refer to these words, we find that St. Paul was speaking of the burdens of moral temptation: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye who are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted." He is asking his fellow-Christians to take up the moral infirmities of sinful souls, and to lift up those who have fallen by the way; and he makes this demand on the ground that, in so doing, the Christian is fulfilling the law of his Lord. Here, then, is a different light thrown on the passage before us, and a light which reveals to us a connexion yet more close and striking between the Christ of St. Paul and the Christ of the Gospels. In reading the first verse of this Chapter one almost imagines that he is listening to a refrain of the narrative in St. John viii. 3. That narrative, as it stands in our Gospels, has undoubtedly been

inserted in the wrong place; but we know from the testimony of Papias that it constituted a very early Christian tradition. It seems to us highly probable that the tradition had reached the ears of St. Paul. The parallel between them is very marked. In Galatians vi. 1, St. Paul is speaking of those who had been *overtaken* in sin, that is to say, surprised or detected in the very act; the alleged circumstances of St. John viii. 3 are precisely the same. In Galatians vi. 1, St. Paul appeals to the spiritual to restore the carnal: the narrative of St. John viii. 3, is absolutely built on this idea. The woman who had been a sinner is rejected by sinners, and received by the sinless One. In Galatians vi. 1, men are commanded to restore the fallen on the ground of their own proneness to fall: "Considering thyself lest thou also be tempted;" in the narrative of St. John viii. 3, the accusers are prevented from carrying out their vengeance by the sharp question addressed to the conscience: "He that is without sin among you let him cast the first stone at her." The teaching of this narrative pervades in spirit the whole Gospel, and forms an essential feature in the portraiture of the Christian Founder. It appears again before the gates of the Samaritan village, and is seen in an almost identical aspect in the house of Simon the Pharisee.

When we turn to the third verse of this Chapter of Galatians, we find ourselves still on the lines of the Christian tradition. St. Paul there declares that the reason why men refuse to bear the moral infirmities of others is their blindness to the fact that they have moral infirmities of their own: "If a man think himself to be something when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself; but let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another." Here, again, we are forcibly reminded of a striking parallel in the teaching ascribed to the Christian Founder. It is found in the parable of the two men who went up into the temple to pray (St. Luke xviii. 9). The

Pharisee and the publican are distinguished by the relative degrees of their self-consciousness. The Pharisee does not seek to *prove his own work*; in other words, his aim is not to view his character by itself, but simply to view it in its contrast to the character of others. His rejoicing is not *in himself alone*; his rejoicing is in the fact that he is a saint in comparison with a multitude of his fellow-men, and, as a representative of that multitude, he takes the publican who has gone up to the temple along with him. His entire boast lies in the relative superiority of his life to the lives of others: "Lord I thank thee that I am not as other men." The publican, on the other hand, is oppressed by the weight of sin; he beats upon his breast and cries, "Lord be merciful unto me a sinner." He is not content to measure himself by the standard of worse men; he proves his own work; and, though the immediate effect of that proof is not to bring him rejoicing, the Master Himself tells us that he went down to his house justified rather than the other. The parable is expressly spoken as a warning to those "who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others;" and it will be seen that the law which it promulgates is precisely identical with that law of Christ which St. Paul here enunciated to the man who esteemed himself to be something when he was nothing.

If we compare, finally, the seemingly contradictory statements of the second and fifth verses of this Chapter, we shall find another very striking parallel between the law of St. Paul's Christ and the law of the Christ whom our Gospels pourtray. "Bear ye one another's burdens; . . . for every man shall bear his own burden." It seems at first sight as if, in the mind of the Apostle, there were a struggle between self-consciousness and self-abnegation. A deeper study dispels such a thought. What St. Paul means to say is, that the man who with greatest lowliness has stooped to lift his own load will, with greatest pity, stoop to lift the

burden of his brother; and, conversely, that he who has most sympathetically lifted the burden of his brother will most heroically endure the burden of his own soul; the personal strength to wrestle with temptation will come in the act of personal self-forgetfulness. We recall those words attributed to the Christian Founder: "If any man shall come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross." The self-denial is the bearing of others' burdens; the taking up of the cross is the bearing of our own. There is, at first view, the same seeming incongruity between the coupling of an act of self-forgetfulness with an act which demands self-reference and self-examination. But here, too, as in the Pauline case, the contrary elements meet in union. The power to lift our own cross is itself a power of self-abasement, an ability to stoop from the consciousness of personal superiority; and the power of self-denial is the fruit of that personal conviction which has found its own weakness in the effort to bear its cross.

G. MATHESON.

CHRIST ON THE CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES.

ST. JOHN xiv. 8-21.

PHILIP's request, "*Lord, shew us the Father,*" was a most serious matter for the cause of Christ, especially at this juncture, and as coming from one of his earliest disciples, and withal a man so earnest and so simple-minded. For it virtually challenged Christ's whole position before men, his entire relation to God the Unseen on the one hand, and to the dark and fallen world on the other. If this appeal really needed to be made, if He had not shewn us the Father, then He had done nothing; his claims were illu-

sory; his salvation was no salvation, no "way" to God and to heaven; for there was neither "truth" in it nor "life."

Evidently our Lord was deeply moved by Philip's entreaty. The traces of emotion which appear on the calm surface of St. John's narrative are slight indeed, but they are always intensely significant. They are so slight that we shall not detect their force or take a full measure of the gravity of the incident which prompted them until we observe that the reply of Jesus to Philip extends, in point of fact, over the whole of the thirteen following Verses, including the promise of the Paraclete, and forming the central and most important part of this priceless Chapter. That this is really the case, and that the words of Philip supply the centre round which the thought of this entire section revolves, becomes evident, I think, when we consider the position it holds between the questions of Thomas and Judas; when we remember St. John's meditative intuitive method of *circular progression* (as it might be called), that is, of throwing out an idea in the simplest possible form to begin with, and dwelling upon it, and working round it in ever-widening circles till it has reached its full compass;¹ and when we find the thought of the manifestation of Christ, to which Philip was referred at the outset for knowledge of the Father, recurring in Verse 21 in its final and completed form. Indeed, it is only at this point (that reached in Verse 21), and in view of the intervening assurances, that the demand "shew us the Father," is fully answered, and the questions it raises adequately met. Only to obedient love can any really "sufficing" revelation of Divine things be given; and it is along the line marked out by this promise that the solution of all our doubts and difficulties awaits us.

¹ See Canon Westcott's *Introduction* in "Speaker's Commentary," p. liii. Godet on *St. John*, vol. i. pp. 191-2; and Luthardt, vol. i. pp. 48-50, E.T.

Philip himself is a deeply interesting study.¹ He was an earnest and right-hearted disciple, but apparently of a slow understanding; not feeble indeed, far from it, but slow with a cautious logical slowness; with a naive matter-of-fact positivism about him, which was at once his excellence and his defect. Christ "proves" him in St. John vi. 5-7; and the result is that he calculates where he might have imagined, and puts arithmetic in place of faith. On the other hand, his downright simplicity and the practical bent of his mind shew to advantage in his memorable reply to Nathanael's objection to "a good thing" from bad Nazareth, where a readier-witted man, or one less completely taken up with the great fact before him, might easily have been at fault. He is, however, by no means a man of stiff convictions or narrow sympathies. He bears a Greek name; and the Greeks who "would see Jesus," come first to him. But he is not sure what to do with them. The situation is too large and critical for him to comprehend on the instant. He falls back on Andrew. His sympathies seem to move faster than his intellect; and yet his intellect is clear and firm, and cannot forego its rights; and so his mind perpetually misgives him. *Diffidence*, in fact, is the note of his character, as *despondency* is of that of Thomas.

And this question, one cannot but think, was one which he had pondered long in his slow self-contained way, and which had greatly troubled him. He desired a *theophany*, that is, some visible glorious manifestation of the immediate presence of the Divine Father, such as had been vouchsafed to Moses at the inauguration of the Old Covenant, such as Isaiah and Malachi seemed to foretell as destined for the Messianic times. The *Schekinah*, no doubt, made the general idea familiar to the Jewish mind. And this kind of

¹ John i. 43-46; vi. 5-7; xii. 20-22. See also THE EXPOSITOR, vol. vi. p. 445, *First Series*.

manifestation may have seemed to him the one thing lacking to complete the proof of his Master's mission, to fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and to dispel his own lingering reluctant doubts. And now that Jesus is about to leave them, and their faith in Him to be tried to the uttermost, and as the conversation leads up to this point, and it may be his last opportunity,—the entreaty bursts from Philip's lips with an earnestness and directness all the greater, because, perhaps, it had been so long suppressed, and because it was the very extremity of his position that forced it from him. "Thou hast bidden us believe in Thee as we believe in God," he seems to say: "Thou hast told us that Thou art going to the Father, and that we know the way; that Thou art the Way, the Truth, and the Life: we would believe, help Thou our unbelief. Grant to our misgiving foreboding hearts, to our weak and struggling minds, but this one last request. We know not what we ask, but, *Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us.* We will bear anything, and face anything, with such an assurance to confirm our hopes and to strengthen our hearts."

And how often we are tempted to ask virtually the same question; to think that if we had only had a different kind of evidence, or if that particular link in the chain of argument had not been wanting as it seems to us, or if we had lived at another time, in a simpler and less critical age, or in more immediate contact with the original facts, then faith would have been easy, and these struggles and agitations would have been spared us. Such imaginings are for the most part as delusive as they are useless. Yielding to them, we may come to lose the substance of truth in grasping at its shadows, and may grow blind to the influence of the real light we have in dreaming of a light that is denied us. "They have Moses and the Prophets," says Christ, through the mouth of Abraham, the father of all believers; "let them hear them. If they will

not, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead," though the very condition which they themselves prescribe were granted them.

Thankful, however, may we be that Philip was emboldened by our gentle Lord to make his doubtful and yet daring request, revealing, as it does, "the thoughts of many hearts;"—thankful that scepticism (for we can call it no less) was represented for a moment even in the midst of the chosen and faithful Twelve, when we see how it was dealt with; not harshly rebuked and suppressed, as by some who "know not what spirit they are of;" nor commended and encouraged, as though it were a mark of a stronger mind or of a more feeling heart: but firmly and gently reasoned with, and pleaded with, and led to the light in which it disappears.

1. "So long have I been with you, and thou hast not known Me, Philip! He that hath seen Me *hath seen the Father*. How (is it) *thou* art saying 'Shew us the Father'? *Believe* me, (believe) that I (am) in the Father and the Father (is) in Me."

It is as though He said, "Think, Philip, of all that I have been to you. Go back to the beginning. Remember all that you have learned from Me concerning the Father, and concerning your own heart; all that you have seen of my glory; all that you have believed and said to yourself already concerning Me; and then look at Me once more, and tell Me if in your heart you can doubt what I say—if I am not putting into words the very conviction which your own experience has been leading you to all along, when I say that *I am in the Father and the Father is in Me*; that you can neither expect nor desire any truer, any surer, revelation of God than that which stands before you now." What a hold Jesus Christ must have had upon these men to be able to make an appeal like this, and to make it with such entire success! No

words can express the tremendous import of the claim which it formulates, and which, alike in the conception and the expression of it, is utterly removed from everything that we know in the way of literary construction or of mythical invention. Nothing can explain the record of this claim but the historic truth of the record. And nothing can in the slightest degree justify such a claim, or account for the measure of vindication it has received, but the simple truth of the claim itself.

Its commanding force lay wholly in its personal character. It was addressed to men who had been with Him from the beginning, to men who knew "the man Christ Jesus" as only they have known Him on earth. It was intended "to recall Philip to himself;" to make him feel that in doubting his Master he was forgetting himself and all that he best knew. It served to rally his faith, stumbling, wavering, as it did for a moment; and to carry it, over the point of difficulty, into a fuller and securer consciousness of itself and of the all-sufficiency of its transcendent Object.

But the challenge of Jesus to Philip rests upon a principle which is as good for us as for him. For our Lord assumes that *He Himself is his own supreme evidence*. Only *to have seen Him* is enough to convince men of the truth of all He claims to be, and of all He promises to do; while "*to have seen and not to believe*" is the most hopeless and remediless of all conditions.¹ This, at any rate, is the position He assumes; and it was exactly that which became Him,—the only position consistent with his claims. How should "the Light of the world" be known otherwise than simply by the fact that it is there for all who have eyes to see, and on whose hemisphere it has arisen? It is sufficiently attested and accredited by its mere presence, by its own pure and heavenly radiance, and by the life-giving warmth and gladness with which it fills every heart on

¹ John vi. 36; iii. 18, 19; ix. 41; xii. 44-48; xv. 24.

which it falls. So, indeed, the result has proved. It is just the Person of Christ as his disciples saw Him, and by their testimony have enabled us to see Him, which has created and still sustains the whole fabric of Christianity. "On *this rock*" the Church is built, and its "foundation" is not primarily doctrines, or miracles, or corporate institutions, but simply "Jesus Christ."¹ For He is greater than his "works," greater than the works of his Church since his departure (*his* works also, as his are the Father's), greater than all that is best in the Christianity of all the Christian ages put together, which is far from yet attaining to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

It is quite impossible to state evidence of this kind in exact terms. No one can convey his own impression of it adequately to another. It is a matter of personal experience, which cannot be had at second-hand. One must have *seen* to believe in this way. And, therefore, all that we can say to one another by way of persuasion is simply what Philip said to his friend Nathanael, *Come and see*. Nathanael doubted. He had an objection—a sincere, and a very fair and reasonable, objection. Philip's answer virtually was: "I cannot meet your difficulty, but I am quite sure that He can and will. His presence will change everything; his teaching will explain everything: *only come and see*." "What we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us."² This is the attitude and the language of the followers of Christ from the beginning in pleading his cause with their fellow-men: "Come and see the Lord Jesus as He lives and moves before us in these divine impressions and inspired memoirs, warm from the hearts of those who 'beheld his glory' when He 'dwelt among us,' and who have recorded what they saw in such clear characters of truth. Come and stand, with them, amongst the crowds that gathered round Him and listen

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 11; Eph. ii. 20.

² 1 John i. 1-3.

to the gracious words that fell from his lips, and that have been the delight and comfort of all gracious souls ever since. Follow Him to Gethsemane, and to Calvary. Behold Him 'alive after his passion by many infallible proofs.' Read once and again the story of the four Evangelists till, as far as may be, with your own eyes you have seen Him whom it portrays. You will then say to us, 'Now we believe, not because of thy saying, but because we ourselves have heard Him, and know that this is in truth the Saviour of the world;' while, to Him, when next He makes to you the solemn and tender appeal: 'Believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in Me?' you will reply, like the blind man whose eyes He opened, 'Lord, I believe,' and you will 'worship Him.'"

2. "*But if not (Verse 11), believe for the very works' sake.*"

This is the ground which our Lord constantly takes in dealing with "the world." Again and again He reiterates, "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of Me. . . . If ye believe not Me, *believe the works*, that ye may know and understand that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father."¹ For it is through his works that the world at large must come to know Christ. Not yet able to believe in Him for his own sake, it may still learn to "believe for the works' sake." How greatly the idea of *his works* is extended in the passage before us, how much it is made to include, we shall see immediately. But, to take the expression in its primary and stricter sense, it is abundantly clear that the Lord Jesus appealed to his *miracles* (as we are accustomed to call them) as being a broad, plain, public *signature* of the Almighty Hand upon his mission.

Christ, however, did not rely upon his works as bare miracles, as mere feats of supernatural wonder-working

¹ John x. 25-38; v. 36-38; xv. 24; Matt. xii. 28; Luke xi. 20.

power. There may be, there *will* be, St. Paul teaches us, "wonders of falsehood, after the working of Satan."¹ His references to them shew that it was in the quality and moral character of his "mighty works" that, in our Lord's eyes, their evidential value lay. "Many *good* works," He says, "have I shewed you from the Father."² Therefore they were, as in the New Testament they are commonly called, *signs*—infinitely and eternally significant. They manifested at once the power of the world's Creator, and the love of the world's Redeemer. They were the sure tokens and demonstrations of his presence who is both Law-giver of nature and Father of the children of men, and who had resolved that, once for all, his fatherly compassions should "have free course and be glorified." And so Christ says in this place, "The Father that dwelleth in me is doing *his* works."³ In their own nature, and on the very face of them, the miracles of the New Testament shew *whose* works they are, that they came from no other source than the fatherly heart of God Himself; and, therefore, they became, and are still, the surest and most glorious and befitting *outward credentials* of Jesus, both as Son of God and as Saviour of mankind.

Accordingly, to attribute them to Satan, as Christ's enemies did,—and indeed were forced to do if they persisted in unbelief, for the facts themselves could at the time in no way be denied,—this was, if persisted in, the unpardonable sin, a "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost," the pure and holy Spirit of God Himself. For a man to witness Christ's miracles and yet say, "He hath an unclean spirit," and so to make "Satan cast out Satan,"⁴ was to tear up the very roots of all moral conviction and sensibility to truth. Not merely in healing demoniacs, but in all his

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 8-12.

² John x. 32.

³ Compare John v. 36, 37; ix. 4, 5.

⁴ Matt. xii. 22-30; Mark iii. 22-30; Luke xi. 14-22; John ix. 19-21.

deeds of mercy, our Lord seems to have felt that He was "destroying the works of the Devil." The case of the woman whom *Satan had bound* for so long (St. Luke xiii. 11-17) does not appear to be in any way singular or exceptional; nor can it be allowed for a moment that the expression which Christ used in regard to her was mere rhetoric or popular accommodation. Bodily suffering, disease, and death, with the cruel and venomous and destructive forces in Nature, belong, in the Biblical view, to "the power of *the enemy*."¹ As we look on the mischief and misery they cause, we are compelled to say, "An enemy hath done this." Natural explanation does not make such a belief in any degree less probable, any more than the absence of such explanation in particular cases makes it more probable. And He who by his word gives sight and health and life, stills the storm, feeds hungry thousands, bids wine flow for the wedding-feast, is doing as God the works of God, and has a right to say, "Believe for the very works' sake."

It is only by a mental abstraction, however, that we distinguish between the person and the works of Jesus, or separate his teaching from his miracles. They mutually implicate each other (Verse 10). They touch at a thousand points, and hold together with all the reality and tenacity of life. His "works" are, like the works of every true man, a part of Himself; and every attempt of critical analysis and reconstruction, no matter how subtle or how brilliant, to give us a purely human Jesus, a Christ without the miracles, clear of the modern "offence" of the supernatural, wears the same artificial and temporary character, and is soon found to be nothing better than an imaginary abstraction, wanting in the essentials of a living and concrete personality. In this sense, more than in any other, "Christ is not," and is not to be, "divided." *The*

¹ Luke x. 19. Compare 1 Cor. v. 5; 2 Cor. xii. 7; Heb. ii. 14; Acts. x. 38.

voice is the voice of Jesus, and *the hands* are the hands of Jesus.

But our Lord makes it felt that to appeal specially to his *works* in dealing with one who had known Him "so long," was to take a step backward or even downward; and was, therefore, a distinct reproach, a reproach all the keener for being so tenderly expressed. On the same ground He falls back in his message to John the Baptist at an earlier time, when that heroic witness of the True Light, hearing in Herod's prison and, perhaps, through unfriendly channels,¹ reports of the ministry of Jesus which disappointed and disquieted him, sent his seemingly rude and blunt enquiry, "Art thou He that should come, or are we to look for another?" "Go and tell John," our Lord calmly replies, "what things ye have seen and heard; how the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and (last and dearest evidence to such an one as John) the poor have the gospel preached unto them; and blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in Me."²

It will be said, indeed, that the miracles of Christ do not command the sort of credence they did, do not practically serve to convince a gainsaying world or to stay the faith of stumbling disciples in these times; that now-a-days we understand the constancy of the laws of nature on the one hand, and the uncertainty of human testimony on the other, as men never did before; and that to educated men, imbued with the spirit of the age, the miracles of Christianity are its difficulty rather than its strength. And in all this there is great and most serious truth. We are living under the blaze of the light which modern research is flashing on the realms both of history and of nature, and it is no wonder if we are dazzled and confused by it at first, or even a little stunned by the loudness and vehemence with

¹ Compare John iii. 26.

² Matt. xi. 2-6; Luke vii. 18-22.

which our nineteenth century proclaims its revelation (Divine also in its way) of mechanics, and its gospel (salutary enough, so far as it goes) of economics. But we need not for all this be "quickly shaken out of our senses, nor troubled."¹ We may be very rationally confident that the most searching historical criticism will lead only to "knowing" more exactly "the certainty" of the things which the sacred records have handed down to us; and that more adequate convictions of the sovereignty of the laws of nature should only heighten our conceptions of the grandeur and significance of the Divine works of Jesus. While to the common people, the toiling suffering masses of mankind, feeling the pressure of hard physical conditions, and comparatively free from intellectual prejudice, now, as ever, the New Testament miracles, rightly presented, supply the most welcome and the most convincing credentials of "the gospel of the grace of God," signs as they are and proofs of the Divine *philanthropy* (it is St. Paul's word), of "the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man."² And it is no small compensation that if, in the present temper of men's minds, external evidences (drawn from Prophecy and Miracles) are in many quarters disparaged and treated with impatience, the internal evidences, arising from the Life of Christ and the moral teaching of Christianity, secure a more favourable hearing and a juster recognition than ever before. It should not surprise us, surely, that certain kinds of evidence and modes of argument appeal more powerfully to certain types of mind and to certain ages of the world than do others. Indeed, the words of Christ Himself, and his various modes of dealing with men, lead us to expect as much. The Light of the world is not going to be shut out because men would

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 2.

² Titus iii. 4. Compare "*the tender mercy of our God in which the Day-spring from on high visited us*" (Luke i. 78).

bar the entrance against Him now on this side and now on that. He can summon the whole nature of man and the entire course of history, if need be, nay, the universe itself, which He created and administers, to give testimony on his behalf. "If one argument does not suffice," He seems to say to Philip, "I have others; I have many."

3. And, in Verse 12 and onwards, He proceeds, with rising and glowing emphasis, to unfold another and yet greater theophany, an abiding and continuous manifestation of the Father, in the Son, to the sons of men. It is that presented by *the work of his disciples and the life of his Church after his departure.*

We know after what fashion his promises in this respect were fulfilled in the Apostles; how they were enabled to work "special miracles" not inferior to those of Christ Himself, "doing the" very "works" that He did; and how those miracles were gradually eclipsed and superseded, as seals of their ministry and visible immediate credentials of the truths they taught, by the yet "greater works" of raising multitudes of men from spiritual death to life, and from the foulest vices to Christian virtue "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God;"¹ and of building up a new Society, a holy brotherhood of men of all nations and conditions, to be "the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."² That they may do this work He must "go to the Father;" and then, from "the right hand of power," He "will do" for them "whatsoever they ask." So this work of theirs will yet be *his* work; and by it, as by all He had done on earth, "the Father" would be "glorified in the Son," and the cry of the human heart to which Philip had given utterance, *Shew us the Father*, would be from age to age more

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 11. Compare 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2; 2 Cor. iii. 1-6; vi. 4-10; xii. 12; 1 Thess. i. 5-7; Col. i. 6.

² 1 Tim. iii. 15.

fully answered.¹ And in spite of the numberless corruptions and divisions of historical Christendom (which are in all fairness no part of Christianity itself), we may point more confidently than ever to its work in the world, its effect upon the whole life of man, in testimony of its Divine origin and destiny. So St. Paul speaks of his converts at Corinth, faulty though they were, yet in view of what they had been and would have been without the Gospel, as “a living epistle, known and read of all men; manifest as an epistle of Christ, written by the Spirit of the living God, on fleshy tablets of the heart.”²

But this testimony is to a large extent committed afresh to the disciples of Christ in every generation. He entrusts his cause to our hands. It is scarcely too much to say that the world will believe in Him when, and so far as, it believes in us. A living Church is to the world the best proof of a living Christ. No “evidences,” wanting this, however theoretically complete, can be (may we not even say, *ought* to be?) practically convincing; that is, can really *shew men the Father*. And Christ intimates in Chapter xvii. of this Gospel (that greater “Lord’s prayer”) that the final victory of his cause will turn upon just this condition. “Holy Father, keep them,”³ He prays; . . . “sanctify them;”⁴ . . . *unite them;*”⁵ and then adds, “that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.” It is the spectacle of a holy and united Church which will one day win the world to Christ. He who said, “I am the Light of the world; many good works have I shewed you from the Father,” has said also, “Ye are the Light of the world; by *your good works* men must learn to glorify your Father in heaven.”

4. And it is just at this point that the occasion arises

¹ John xv. 7, 8; Matt. v. 14-16; 1 Pet. ii. 9.

² 2 Cor. iii. 3. Here also applies the assurance given to the Baptist: *The poor have the gospel preached to them.*

³ John xvii. 11-15.

⁴ *Ibid.* 17-19.

⁵ *Ibid.* 20-23.

and the way is prepared for the promise of the *other Paraclete* (Advocate, Helper), *the Spirit of truth*, who, known or unknown, had been in the world and with the disciples of Christ always, but was to be from the time of his departure *in them* as never in the souls of men before (Verses 15-17). Receiving Him, they would be no longer desolate, no longer as orphaned children. They would find that He had come back to them in a new and far better way (Verse 18). They would know how truly, how mightily, He who was so soon to die was yet "alive for evermore;" and in that consciousness, and by the Spirit that raised Him from the dead, they too would *live* (Verse 19). And "in that day" they will *know* what at present they find it so hard to believe, that He and the Father are really one, becoming themselves now spiritually one with Him (Verse 20). But it is on their obedience, and on the love of which obedience is the fit expression and the only safeguard, that this manifestation of Himself depends, for the want of which they are so weak-hearted, so fearful and dissatisfied (Verse 21).¹

For after all "he that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself," and "it is the Spirit that beareth witness."² However fully other evidence may persuade the understanding, there is none but that which can or ought to satisfy the heart. It may be that all profound and fundamental convictions of truth are testimonies of "the Spirit himself with our spirit;" at any rate this is true in all that pertains to "the kingdom of God" which is "within us." Christianity is, throughout, an experimental science, and its domain is the individual consciousness. "It pleased God," says St. Paul, "to reveal his Son in me;"³ and, indeed, there is no other way of knowing

¹ See also Verse 15, and compare Verses 1 and 25-28, also Chap. xvi. 6, 7, 20-23; Acts i. 8.

² 1 John v. 6, 10. Compare Acts ii. 33, 34; xi. 17; xv. 8.

³ Gal. i. 15, 16.

Him, and the Father in Him, that will "suffice" us. The inward "demonstration of the Spirit" affords the *personal verification* of our Christian beliefs, such a verification as every science demands in its own department, and which Christ has pledged to us from the beginning in regard to the knowledge of the Father through Him. It is in the realized answers to prayer which every humble Christian receives, in the help and comfort that never fail in the hour of weakness or of desolation, in the sensible "communion of the Holy Ghost" and the "pardon and peace and heavenly joys" that attend his visitations, in the obedient love that gains an ever growing revelation of "the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent," in the establishment of that inward "kingdom of God" which is "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost," that "the promise of the Father is evermore fulfilled to all who 'wait for it.'" Christ's *I in you* seals and crowns his manifestation of the Father.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN
THEIR BEARING ON THE OLD TESTAMENT
SCRIPTURES.

XV. HOSHEA, SHALMANESER AND SARGON.

THE next scene in the drama of Jewish history brings Egypt on the stage as well as Assyria. "The king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year" (2 Kings xvii. 4). The king whose name appears in this monosyllabic form, is identified by Egyptologists with the Sabaco of Manetho and Herodotus (ii. 17) of the 25th or Ethiopian

Dynasty, founded *circa* B.C. 766, by Piankhi Mamoun. Traces of the "conspiracy" or alliance thus referred to are found in an inscription at Karnak, in which Sabaco (or Shabaki) claims Syria as a tributary province (Lenorm., *Anc. Hist.*, i. 277). A more definite record appears in the "Annals of Sargon," translated by M. Oppert (*R. P.*, vii. 26-29) who narrates his victory over both Israel and Egypt. "I plundered the district of Samaria and the entire house of Omri . . . I overpowered Egypt at Raphia. . . . I treated like a slave Hanon king of Gaza. . . . In the beginning of my reign . . . name lost "the Samaritans, . . . with the help of the sun, who aided me to vanquish my enemies, I besieged. I occupied the town of Samaria, and I brought into captivity 27,280 persons: I took before all parts over them 50 chariots, the part of my kingdom. I took them to Assyria and instead of them I placed men to live there whom my hand had conquered. I instituted over them my lieutenants as governors, and I imposed on them tribute as over the Assyrians. . . ." Samaria, Hamath, Arpad (see 2 Kings xviii. 34) made, it would seem, a final but fruitless effort at resistance. "In the second year of my reign Ihubid of Hamath . . . he established himself in the town of Qarqar, and excited against me the towns Arpad, Simyras, Damascus and Samaria. . . ." Forty lines are here destroyed, which M. Oppert supposes to have contained an account of the defeat of the Ethiopian king at Raphia. The inscription then continues "Sebech (= Sabaco - So) had confidence in his armies and came towards me to deliver a battle. I defeated them in remembrance of the great god Assur, my god. Sebech went away with a shepherd who watched his sheep, and escaped. Hanon (the king of Gaza) was taken by me, and I took with me to my city of Assyria all that he possessed. I destroyed, I demolished his cities, I burnt

them with fire. I took with me 9,033 men with their numerous properties."

It will be seen that this account agrees substantially with that of 2 Kings xvii. 5. "Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." Common as the practice of deportation was with the conquerors, no king seems to have carried it to so great an extent as the Sargon who records these victories. The statement of the inscription that he brought new settlers into the depopulated country agrees with the records of 2 Kings xvii. 24, that "the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Ava, and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel." It falls in with the record in Isaiah xx. 1, that Sargon the king of Assyria had sent the Tartan (*i.e.*, as in the Black Obelisk inscription (*R. P.*, v. 37) the general of his armies, the word being a title of office and not a proper name) to fight against Ashdod, the attack on which would naturally follow on the capture of Gaza. It shows why the prophet connects the capture of that city with the strange symbolic act ("walking naked and bare-foot") which foreshadowed the fact that "the king of Assyria should lead away the Egyptians prisoners and the *Ethiopians* captive" (Isa. xx. 4), and declared that this would be the end of the "expectation whither we flee for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria" (Isa. xx. 6). It throws light on the taunting speech of the Rab-shakeh (= chief cupbearer) under Sargon's successor (Isa. xxxvi. 19): "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? And have they delivered Samaria out of my

hand?" It offers a probable explanation of the prophecy of Isaiah (xiv. 29, 30) against Palestina (=the country of the Philistines). They, it would seem, were exulting at the death of one Assyrian king, perhaps of Tiglath-Pileser II., and the prophet tells them that their exultation is misplaced. "Out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent." One Assyrian king should follow on another, Shalmaneser on Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon on Shalmaneser, Sennacherib on Sargon, each more mighty and terrible than his predecessor.

There is, perhaps, no single instance in which so much light has been thrown by the labours of Assyrian scholars on the complicated transactions of this period of Biblical history as that with which we are now dealing. Till they interpreted the tablets of Khorsabad, the name of Sargon had been the stumbling-block and perplexity of commentators. It did not appear in the historical books of the Old Testament. It was not mentioned by any Greek historian. In the absence of direct evidence accordingly, it was relegated to the region of conjecture. Some interpreters identified the king so named with Shalmaneser, some with Sennacherib, some even with Esarhaddon. Gesenius (*Thes.*, s. v. Sargon) and Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.*, iii. 628) with the historical sagacity which amounts almost to divination, were led to the conclusion that there must have been an otherwise unrecorded reign of Sargon from B.C. 718 to B.C. 706, coming between those of Shalmaneser and Sennacherib, and that he was the father of the latter. The interpretation of the "Sargon Annals," if we accept the consensus of Assyrian scholars in different countries, working independently, settles the problem by confirming that conjecture.

It is true that the discovery thus made requires us to correct what has hitherto been the traditional interpre-

tation of 2 Kings xviii. 10, that Samaria was taken by Shalmaneser. It may be noted, however, as Canon Rawlinson observes in the *Speaker's Commentary* (Note on 2 Kings xvii. 6) that there is no definite statement in the Biblical narrative to this effect. Shalmaneser began the siege, but the writer adds, with a singular change of phrase, "*they* took it," and the king of Assyria who effected the capture of the city and carried the population into captivity is not named, and may have been therefore Shalmaneser's successor. It was natural, we may add, that Isaiah, as a contemporary writer, should be more accurately informed on this matter, or, at least, should be more precise in his narrative, than the later annalists who compiled the Books of Kings.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

“JOHN THE PRESBYTER” WAS “JOHN THE
APOSTLE.”

THE majority of those who have questioned the authenticity of the Apocalypse have assigned it to a supposed younger contemporary of the Apostle, who, they say, was known in the early Church as “John the Presbyter”. If it can be shewn that the very existence of “John the Presbyter” is in the highest degree problematical, great additional force will be given to the already strong proofs that the Apocalypse, the Gospel, and the Epistles are indeed the work of the Evangelist St. John. In recent times the supposed existence of this “nebulous Presbyter” has been made an excuse for denying altogether the work and the residence of St. John in Asia.¹

I have long doubted whether there ever was such a person as this “John the Presbyter,” and I had arrived at this conclusion, and arranged my reasons for holding it, before I saw the paper of Prof. Milligan in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for October, 1863.² The papers of Riggenbach (*Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, vol. xiii. p. 319), and of Zahn in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1866, I have not yet seen, nor Zahn’s *Acta Johannis* (1880). I have purposely ab-

¹ Vogel, *Der Evang. Johannes*, 1800. Lützelberger, *Die kirchl. Tradition über d. Ap. Johannes*, 1840. Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, vol. i, p. 160, ff. Scholten, *Der Ap. Johan. in Klein-Azië*, 1871. Holtzmann, *Eph. und Kolosser-briefe*, 1872. On the other side see W. Grimm, *Johannes*, in Ersch and Grüber. Baur, *Gesch. d. christl. Kirche*, vol. i. pp. 82-147, etc. Krenkel, *Der Apost. Johannes*, pp. 133-178. Strauss, Schwegler, Zeller, Hilgenfeld, even Volkmann all reject the new theory. Renan (*L’Antechrist*, pp. 557-589) only thinks that Scholten has succeeded in relegating the facts to a sort of penumbra.

² I differ from Prof. Milligan in his interpretation of the meaning of Papias.

stained from consulting them in order that I might state my argument in my own way and as it occurred to myself. I do not think that any one can charge it with being over-sceptical, and it will have been useful if it helps in ever so small a degree to get rid of "a shadow which has been mistaken for a reality," "a sort of Sosia of the Apostle, who troubles like a spectre the whole history of the Church of Ephesus."¹

The question of the separate existence of a "John the Presbyter" turns mainly upon the meaning of a passage of Papias quoted by Eusebius, and upon the criticism of that passage by Eusebius himself.

Let us first see the passage of Papias.

In his "Exposition of Oracles of the Lord" (*Δογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*) Papias had assigned to himself the task of preserving with his best diligence and accuracy, and of interweaving in his five books, the apostolic traditions which were still attainable.

"I shall not scruple," he says, "to place side by side with my interpretations all the things that I ever rightly learned from the Elders and rightly remembered, solemnly affirming their truthfulness." Then, after telling us that, unlike most men, he was indifferent to mere idle gossip and second-hand information, and sought for direct evidence as to the words of Christ, he adds: "but also if at any time any one came who had been acquainted with the Elders, I used to enquire about the discourses of the Elders—what Andrew or what Peter said (*εἶπεν*), or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew, or any one of the disciples of the Lord; and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord say (*λέγουσι*). For I thought that the information derived from books would not be so profitable to me, as that derived from a living and abiding utterance."²

¹ Renan, *L'Antechrist*, p. xxiii.

² As the question turns on the meaning of this passage, I append the Greek.

The general meaning of this passage is clear. The good Bishop of Hierapolis tells us that he wished, in setting forth his "interpretations," to derive all the information he could from the fountain head. We learn from St. Luke himself that, before he wrote his Gospel, many had already attempted to perform a similar task, and the Evangelist evidently implies that he was dissatisfied with the majority of such efforts. It is even a fair inference from the expressions which he uses that some of these narratives were founded on insufficient knowledge and were lacking in carefulness. It is quite possible that these tentative sketches of the Gospel narrative—all of which have now perished—admitted apocryphal particulars or narrated true circumstances with erroneous details. Such documents would be sure to contain some contradictions, and would create much uncertainty in the minds of Christians. The Four Gospels were written in fulfilment of an imperative need. Now if imperfect or unauthorized works such as the sketches to which St. Luke alludes had come under the notice of Papias, he would naturally regard them with suspicion, and would feel that their uncertainties discredited their authority. He was indeed acquainted with the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and perhaps, though I do not think that this can be regarded as certain, with the Gospel of St. John.¹ But stories were floating about, such for instance as that respecting the death of Judas

οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα συγκατάξει ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. . . . Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρακολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἢ τίς τῶν Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἅτε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσούτον με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.—Papias, *Ap. Euseb. H. E.*, iii. 39.

¹ Eusebius does not quote any certain allusion of Papias to the Gospel of St. St. John, but in an argument prefixed to a Vatican MS. of the ninth century, we are told that he testified to its genuineness; and a quotation from "the Elders," in Irenæus, may be derived from Papias. Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 77. Papias used the First Epistle of St. John.

Iscariot, and that about "a woman accused before our Lord of many sins," which diverged more or less from the accounts in the Gospels. Papias felt that he would be rendering a service to the Church if he collected from eye-witnesses all the *authentic* information which could still be gathered as to facts. It was even more important to him and to the Church to learn the accurate truth about asserted *doctrines*. If "the books" to which he refers included, as Bishop Lightfoot has conjectured,¹ some of the mystic heresies and absurdities of the early Gnostics, they fully deserved the tone of depreciation in which he speaks of them. He was acting wisely in endeavouring to bring to a focus the last glimmerings of direct Apostolic tradition.

It seems, then, that he had long been in the habit—perhaps even since his boyhood—of gleaning from every available source the testimony of the Twelve Apostles. His book was probably written after the last Apostle was dead, and he considered that it owed much of its importance to the old traditions which he had gathered while it was yet possible to do so. In the passage which I have quoted he is not speaking of present times, but is referring to what he used to do in the days of his youth and early manhood.

Now certainly if Papias had been a careful modern writer we should have inferred from this passage that the John mentioned in the first clause was a different person from the John mentioned in the second. In the first, he says, that it had been his habit to enquire from any who had known "the Elders"—of whom he specially mentions seven Apostles—what these "Elders" *said*; and also "what Aristion and John the Elder, the disciples of the Lord, *say*."

But although this would be the *natural* inference, it is

¹ *Contemporary Review*, August, 1867, and August, 1875.

by no means the *certain* inference. The antithesis may be between the past and present tense ("said" and "say"), and not between two sources of original information. There is nothing whatever to forbid the explanation that when Papias met any one who had known the immediate Apostles and disciples of the Lord—St. John among them—he made notes of what (according to their information) these Elders said; but while he was writing this clause he remembered that, at the time when he was making his notes of this direct oral information, two of the immediate disciples of the Lord were not dead but living; namely, Aristion—to whom, since he was not an Apostle, he does not give the title of "Elder"—and John, whom he identifies with those whom he has mentioned in the first class by calling him, as he had called them, "the Elder."

Certainly such a way of expressing himself would shew that Papias was a man who wrote in a very simple and loose style; but this is exactly what we know to have been the case. It is true that, in one place, if the clause be genuine, Eusebius calls him "a man in all respects of the greatest erudition and well acquainted with Scripture."¹ But the genuineness of this eulogistic clause is very uncertain, since it is omitted in several manuscripts, as well as by Rufinus, and (which is important) in an ancient Syriac Version. Three chapters further on Eusebius tells us that Papias was "a man of exceedingly small intelligence, as one may infer from his own writings."² Such a man might easily write in a confused style. One at least of the passages which Eusebius quotes from the "Exposition" bears out his unfavourable opinion of the ancient bishop's ability. Nor are we left to form our judgment of his style solely on the opinion of Eusebius. Another of

¹ ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα λογίωτατος. Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 36.

² σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηρῶμενον εἴπῃν. *Id.*, iii. 39.

the passages which the historian quotes from Papias (and to which I have referred further on) is equally wanting in precision, and is therefore susceptible of more than one interpretation.

I. Now, first of all, no difficulty can arise as to the title given to St. John. Papias calls all the other Apostles "the Elders," and it is only natural to assume that he gives the same title to St. John in the same sense. The word "Elder," like the word "Apostle," had two different senses. In its ordinary sense it was applicable to many hundreds of persons, for it meant any Christian who was member of a Presbytery. But it had a *special* sense in which it meant one who belonged to the earliest generation of Christians. In this sense it is constantly used by Irenæus, and is applied to Papias himself, though he was not a Presbyter but a Bishop of Hierapolis, and though by the time of Irenæus the distinction between "Bishop" and "Presbyter," which is not found in the writings of the New Testament, had been gradually introduced. If the Second and Third Epistles of St. John be, as the Church has generally inferred, by the same author as the first, the case is strengthened for identifying "John the Elder" with "John the Apostle," for in both those Epistles St. John gives himself this very title. That it was in no sense inappropriate may be seen from the fact that St. Peter, in addressing Elders, calls himself their "fellow Elder."¹ Besides this, when used with the definite article, it would be a title of great significance, and yet would accord with the modesty and reticence which were habitual with St. John. There was no need for the last survivor of the Apostles to give himself the title of "Apostle," to which, in its loftiest sense, all men knew that he had an undisputed claim. He did not wish to assert his own immense authority. But in calling himself "the Elder"

¹ 1 Pet. v. 1.

he used a term doubly impressive. He implies that he was an Elder in a peculiar sense, both because he was entitled from his great age to respect and reverence, and also because he was raised above the rest of Elders by the dignity of his position as the last of the Twelve, and the last of those who could say "I have seen the Lord." So far then we see that, whether they were the same person or not, the John in the first clause and the John in the second are each characterized by two identical titles. Each is called an "Elder," and each is called "a disciple of the Lord." Surely if Papias had wished to describe two different persons, he would have given some separate and distinctive title to the second and inferior John. It is a reasonable inference that Papias is only mentioning the same person twice over in an intelligible, though loose and inartistic way, to distinguish between reports of his sayings which were brought to him when St. John was yet living and after he was dead.

But, besides this, I am far from sure that the sentence is not loosely constructed in another sense. By the figures of speech called zeugma and syllepsis, the same word, even in the most classical writers and in all languages, is often made to serve two purposes in the same sentence. A verb is often used with two clauses which is only appropriate to one of them, as in Pope's line—

"See Pan with flocks, with fruits Pomona crowned,"

where from the participle "crowned" we must understand the word "surrounded" to suit the first half of the line. In other instances we are compelled by the sense to borrow from one verb another which may be even opposite in meaning, as in St. Paul's—

κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων.¹

"Forbidding to marry, [commanding] to abstain from

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 3, comp. γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα οὐ βρῶμα, 1 Cor. iii. 2.

meats," where from *κωλύοντων* (forbidding) we must understand *κελεύοντων* (commanding) to suit the second clause.¹ It is then perfectly legitimate to understand Papias to mean that he *used to enquire* what Peter, John, etc., *said*, and when opportunity occurred *used to make personal notes* of what Aristion and John *say*. What he derived from St. John would, if such were his meaning, have been of two descriptions, namely, (1) Reports of his conversations from others, and (2), Actual notes of his living testimony taken down in intercourse with the Apostle himself when Papias was young. And that Eusebius is not guilty of mere carelessness in interpreting him to mean that he actually heard "John the Elder" is, I think, shewn by the words which follow, in which Papias, thinking mainly of his last clause, speaks of the importance of the "living and abiding voice." Indeed, he says in his opening sentence that some of his notes were derived from immediate intercourse with some of these "Elders" *as well as* (εἰ δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.) from trustworthy reports of what they had said to others.

There are, then, two strong arguments for construing the sentences of Papias as I have here proposed. They are all the stronger because they are both derived from Eusebius himself, though he may be called the original inventor of the theory about "John the Presbyter."²

(1) One of these arguments is that Eusebius so construed the sentence. He indeed makes the "John the Elder" of the first clause a different person from the "John the Elder" of the second clause, but he paraphrases the sentence thus: "Papias testifies that he had received the sayings of the Apostles from those who had been acquainted with them,

¹ This is called *zeugma*; in *sylllepsis* the same word is taken in two different senses. Now *ἀνακρίνω* means "I examine," "sift," or "question."

² Dionysius of Alexandria had given a timid hint that there *might* have been such a person, but Eusebius, by a bold criticism, assumes that there was.

but says that he had been himself a hearer of Aristion and of John the Elder." He has been accused of error and carelessness in thus understanding the sentence, but I think that I have shewn his construction of it to be, so far, perfectly justifiable.

(2) The other argument is that Eusebius, in an earlier book, the *Chronicon*, says without any hesitation, that *Papias was a hearer of St. John the Apostle*.¹ Now that this was the truer and more unbiassed conclusion seems clear on other grounds. I shall shew later on that "the Elder" is quoted for statements which could hardly have come from any but an Apostle. And besides the ancient and frequent *testimony* that Papias had seen and conversed with St. John the Apostle, it would be inconceivable *a priori* that one who was searching for first hand and authentic testimony should never have taken the trouble to go the short distance from Hierapolis to Ephesus to consult an Apostle of the highest authority, who was then living at Ephesus as the acknowledged head of the Asiatic Church.

The argument, therefore, that Eusebius was more likely than we are to have known whether there was or was not a "John the Presbyter," and whether Papias was *his* hearer or the hearer of St. John the Apostle, because Eusebius possessed all the writings of Papias, and we do not, falls signally to the ground. Indeed, it tells the other way. In his *History* he *reasons himself into the belief* that Papias was only the pupil of "the Presbyter;" but he had all the writings of Papias in his hand when he wrote the *Chronicon*, and there he says,² without any hesitation, that Papias was a pupil of the Apostle. "John the Presbyter" is the creature of Eusebius's later criticism. If he could have quoted from Papias a single other passage which in any way

¹ So, too, Iren., *Hær.*, v. 33. Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς. It is monstrous to suppose that Irenæus would use the simple word "John" if he only meant the Presbyter.

² Euseb., *Chron. Olymp.*, 220.

countenanced his existence, there would have been no need to base his existence upon a mere conjecture.

On the other hand, the belief that Papias really had seen and heard the Apostle St. John rests not upon conjecture, but upon the distinct testimony of Irenæus, who says that Papias was "a hearer of John, and an associate (ἑταῖρος) of Polycarp."¹ That the John intended is the Apostle—the only John of whom Irenæus knew anything—is sufficiently clear, because Irenæus in his letters to Victor and to Florinus, distinctly says so.² Besides this, Apollinarius, who succeeded Papias as Bishop of Hierapolis, and was therefore specially likely to be well informed, says that both Polycarp and Papias were hearers of the Apostle. Jerome, in his *De Viris Illustribus*, says the same. Till very recent times no one ever breathed a doubt that *Polycarp* had been a hearer of the Apostle, and had by him been appointed Bishop of Smyrna.³ If then Polycarp was a hearer of the Apostle, there can be no difficulty in accepting the testimony that Papias, who was a friend and contemporary of Polycarp, had enjoyed the same peculiar privilege.

II. But now let us examine more closely the criticism of Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii. 39) upon the passage of Papias. He says "that Papias mentions the name of John twice, and in the first clause places him with Peter and the rest of the Apostles, clearly indicating the Evangelist; but that in the second clause he ranks him with others who were not Apostles, placing Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him 'an Elder;' so that even in this way he indicates the truth of the statements of those who have said that there were two who had the same name in Asia, and that

¹ Iren., *Hær.*, v. 33. So too Ecumenius, on Acts ii.; Anastasius Sinaita, *Hæraem.*, vii.; and Nicephorus, *H. E.*, iii. 20.

² *Ap. Euseb.*, *H. E.*, v. 20-24.

³ *Tert.*, *De Praescr. Hær.*, v. 30.

there were two tombs in Ephesus, and that each is still called 'a tomb of John.' We ought to attend to these facts, for it is probable that it was the *second* John who saw the Apocalypse which passes under the name of John, unless any one wishes to believe that it was the first."

It should be most carefully observed that Eusebius does not here profess to know anything whatever about this "John the Elder," and that he is not quite fair in saying that Papias calls him "*an* Elder." Papias did not call him "*an* Elder," but "*the* Elder," which may be a very different thing. Eusebius also fails to notice that the "John" of the second clause is described by exactly the same two designations as the John of the first clause, namely, as one of the "Elders," and as a "disciple of the Lord." Eusebius is only led to infer that there was a John, who was not the Apostle, (1) by his interpretation of this single passage; (2) by the fact that "some" had said so; and (3) because these persons stated that there were still two tombs at Ephesus which were known by the name of John. Whatever may be thought as to the ingenuity of his reasoning, Eusebius furnishes the most complete refutation of his own theory by the inability to produce a single grain of testimony or even of tradition in favour of the view that this separate "Presbyter" had ever existed.

Two questions then arise:—

a. Why was Eusebius so anxious to believe in the existence of this "John the Presbyter"?

β. Who were the "some" on whose testimony he relies?

a. The answers to both questions are very easy. Eusebius disliked the Apocalypse. He seldom quotes it. In one passage he refers to it as possibly (εἰ γε φανεῖν) spurious, and in another as possibly (εἰ γε φανεῖν) genuine, leaving the decision very much to the reader himself. He was extremely opposed to the fanatical and sensuous Chiliasm, which

derived its sole support from perversions of that book ; and on this ground he was inclined to look down upon the old Bishop of Hierapolis, with his credulous stories and Judaic sympathies. If the millennial traditions which Papias had collected in his "Expositions" could be dissociated from the authority of the Apostle, and made to rest on that of an unknown and sub-apostolic personage, it would be more easy to set them aside.

β. As to the "some" to whom Eusebius alludes, they probably reduce themselves to Dionysius of Alexandria, just as the "some" to whom Dionysius himself alludes as disparaging the Apocalypse probably reduce themselves to the Alogi. At any rate, the only trace of a conjecture as to the existence of "John the Presbyter" previous to Irenæus, is in the famous criticism on the Apocalypse by Dionysius. In that criticism, preserved for us only by Eusebius (*H. E.*, vii. 25), the learned Patriarch of Alexandria says that it is clear from the testimony of the book itself that a "John" wrote the Apocalypse, but that instead of calling himself "the disciple beloved by the Lord" (as in the Gospel), or "the brother of James," or "one who has actually seen and heard the Lord," which would have clearly indicated his individuality, he only calls himself "your brother and fellow in affliction," and "a witness of Jesus," and "blessed because he saw and heard these revelations." "Now I think," continues Dionysius, "that there have been many who bore the same name as John the Apostle, who loved that designation out of their love, and admiration, and emulation for him, and because they wished to be loved of the Lord as he was ; just as many children are named after Paul and Peter. Nay, there is even another John in the Acts of the Apostles, who bore the surname of Mark. I cannot say whether this be the John who wrote the Apocalypse, for it is not recorded that he went with them (Barnabas and Paul) into Asia ; but I think that it was

some other John of those who were in Asia, since some even say that there are two tombs in Ephesus each of which is called 'the tomb of John.' "

If the "some" to whom Eusebius appeals include any one except Dionysius of Alexandria, and those who had given him his information, we have at any rate no clue as to who they were. Had they been persons of special authority, or with special opportunities of knowing the facts, Eusebius would have told us something about them. And what does the evidence furnished by Dionysius amount to Not (be it observed) to the statement that *there were two Johns*, but only that John was a common name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which was pointed out by the local ciceroni as a tomb of John! He does not even pretend to imply that they were the tombs of *two* Johns. On the contrary each was asserted to be the tomb of the Apostle.

III. Could any reader of modern German criticisms believe that beyond this we know absolutely nothing about John the Presbyter, as distinct from John the Apostle? ¹ And how baseless a foundation is this for the superstructure which has been raised upon it! Dionysius wrote about the middle of the third century, ² when John had been laid in his grave for at least a century and a half. There is no tradition worth the name as to the place and manner of the Apostle's death; and, in the absence of authentic information, it was believed or assumed that he died at Ephesus. Since this was the common belief, it was quite natural that the Christians who visited Ephesus should ask to be shewn the grave of John. ³

¹ No importance can be attached by any one to the guess or invention of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 46), that the Presbyter succeeded the Apostle as Bishop of Ephesus.

² He succeeded to the Presidency of the Catechetical School at Alexandria in A.D. 231.

³ Similarly the "trophies" of Peter and Paul were pointed out at Rome as early as the days of the Presbyter Gaius (A.D. 213).

Now the duplicate sites of many other "holy places" in Palestine and elsewhere shew that if, in a case where there was no certainty, *one* supposed grave was pointed out, it was a very likely result that there should be *two*. The two graves were merely rival sites for a spot which, if either of them were genuine, would be full of interest. Yet from so small a basis, Dionysius—who, though he speaks reverently of the Apocalypse, could not persuade himself that it was the work of the Apostle—first infers that there were two Johns; and, secondly, that one of them may have been sufficiently famous to be the author of the Revelation.

That Dionysius is merely clutching at a theory is proved by his half suggestion that the author may have been John Mark the Evangelist; a suggestion in which, so far as I am aware, he had no follower for 1500 years, when the same theory found isolated supporters, first in Beza,¹ then in Hitzig.² St. Mark is traditionally connected with Alexandria, but there is no vestige of a trace that he had any connexion with the Churches of Proconsular Asia.

But, further than this, his suggestion proves a great deal more than he intended by it. This second John, if he existed at all, must have been an exile in Patmos, and a person of such immense and acknowledged influence as to be able to address the Seven Churches of Asia with almost more than Apostolic authority. But, as we can now prove, the Apocalypse was written about A.D. 68; and if John the Presbyter at that time exercised so powerful a sway over Asia, then there is little or no room left for the work of John the Apostle. Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus (A.D. 196), spoke of John the Apostle and Philip as the two great lights of Asia; but if John the Presbyter is the exile of

¹ Beza, *Prolegom. in Apoc.*, p. 744. "Quod si quid aliud liceret ex stylo con-jicere, nemini certe potius quam Marco tribuerim, qui et ipse Joannes dictus est" (Lücke, *Einleit. in d. Offenbar.*, p. 780).

² *Ueber Joh. Markus*, 1843.

Patmos and the author of the Second and Third Epistles, he must have been, on the evidence of these writings, a "light of Asia" whose splendour was much more powerful than that of Philip, and one which makes the name even of the Apostle grow somewhat pale.

If the Presbyter wrote the Apocalypse, a large part of the evidence for the Asiatic residence of St. John falls to the ground. This is the actual result arrived at by Scholten, Lipsius, Keim, and other Dutch and German theologians, who fall back on the unauthorized and dubious quotation of a Papias by Georgius Hamartolos, to the effect that John the Apostle was martyred by the Jews. Dionysius shews no trace of such wild conclusions, though they would naturally spring from his own conjecture; and, as for Georgius Hamartolos, we have all the less scruple in setting aside his supposed quotation, because none of his predecessors for eight centuries know anything about it, and because in the very same sentence he has flagrantly mis-stated the known opinion of Origen.¹

IV. Keim dwells much on the fact that little or no mention is made of the Asiatic work of St. John till the close of the second century. It is not mentioned, he says, in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in the Ignatian Epistles, nor in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians, nor in the letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne. The answer to this difficulty, if it be one, is twofold. It is that, in the first place, there was no special reason why it should have been mentioned in any one of these documents; and that, in the second place, the "argument from silence" is always a most untrustworthy way of attempting to throw doubts on facts for which there is positive evidence. Are we to doubt the existence of Milton or of Jeremy Taylor—of Bacon or of

¹ Georgius Hamartolos not only quotes Papias for the assertion that St. John had been martyred by the Jews, but says that Origen thought so too, which is the reverse of the fact. (*Orig. in Matt.*, *Opp.* iii. 719, *ed.* Delarue.)

Shakspeare—because these contemporaries make no allusion to each other in their voluminous writings? Humboldt points out that in the Archives of Barcelona there is no trace of an event so important as the triumphal entry of Columbus; in Marco Polo's travels no mention of the wall of China; in the Archives of Portugal no allusion to the travels of Amerigo Vespucci.¹ Michelet, in his History of France, observes that the two chief historians of the Sicilian Vespers make no mention whatever of Procida, though he was undoubtedly the chief mover in that terrible event.² The *argumentum ex silentio* may be set aside as wholly unimportant. Moreover, in this instance, it is singularly inappropriate, since it tells with redoubled force against the very existence of any separate "John the Presbyter," who is passed over in still profounder silence by all sources of information alike.

It is quite certain that such an hypothesis as the denial of John's work in Asia would have appeared absurd to Dionysius. He was probably in possession of a stronger and more detailed tradition on the subject than we are. At any rate he would not have listened for a moment to the supposition on which this recent theory depends. It requires us to believe that Irenæus (A.D. 180) *actually confounded John the Apostle with John the Presbyter!* Such a supposition is—I fear it must be said—utterly absurd. Irenæus repeatedly refers to "John," and "John the Lord's disciple," and fortunately it cannot be asserted that he is referring to this second John, because in one passage he expressly calls him "John the disciple of the Lord who leaned upon his breast, and himself published the Gospel while living in Ephesus of Asia."³ There is in Irenæus

¹ *Gesch. d. Geogr. d. neuen Continents*, vol. iv. p. 160.

² Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, vol. i. p. 123. These two instances are quoted by Krenkel, *Der Ap. Johan.*, p. 139.

³ See Iren., *Hær.* ii. 22, § 5; iii. 1, § 1; iii. 3, § 4; ii. § 1; v. 30, § 1; 33 § § 3, 4; and *ap. Euseb., H.E.*, v. 24.

no trace of any other John; nor was there any such trace in the writings of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, or Apollinarius, Bishop of Hierapolis,—two persons who were eminently likely to be well informed about the history of the Christian Church in those two cities. Irenæus tells us that Polycarp had been the disciple of St. John, and had always referred to him about disputed questions, and had felt for him an unbounded reverence. Now Irenæus too was of Asiatic origin, and knew the traditions of Ephesus. He had himself been a hearer of Polycarp, and has left a most graphic description of the manner in which the old man used to demean himself. And yet we are asked to believe that when he calls Polycarp "a hearer of John" he mistook John the Apostle for John the Presbyter, though of this John the Presbyter there is not so much as a tradition, however faint, until we come to the middle of the third century; and no trace even then except a vague report that there were at Ephesus two graves known as graves of John! But St. Jerome furnishes us with conclusive evidence of the extremely valueless character of this grain of supposed fact in the ever-widening ocean of theory. He says (*De Viris Illustr.*) that "another tomb is shewn at Ephesus as the tomb of John the Presbyter, ALTHOUGH SOME THINK THAT THEY ARE BOTH TOMBS OF JOHN THE EVANGELIST"! Had it not been for dogmatic reasons, it is probable that no one would have thought anything else.

There is overwhelming evidence that John the Apostle spent many of his last years in Asia. It is one of the most unanimous and best supported of Church traditions, and it can be traced in a continuous sequence of evidence from the days of those who were his contemporaries, and had enjoyed his personal intercourse. That there was any John the Presbyter *distinct* from the Apostle there is no evidence whatever. For to say that a second-hand report

about two graves in Ephesus is any evidence, is idle. We should never have heard a word about these two graves, or at any rate *this* is not the inference which would have been drawn from them, if Dionysius had not disliked to attribute the Apocalypse to St. John, and if Eusebius, in common with many others, had not felt a scarcely concealed desire to get rid of the book altogether. But if this imaginary "Presbyter" wrote the Apocalypse, he must, on the shewing of the book itself, have been a very great man indeed, and one whose position enabled him to adopt a tone more authoritative than was adopted even by St. Paul. Is it conceivable that of such a man there would not be so much as a single other trace except the report of a dubious grave conjecturally assigned to him a century and a half after he was dead?

The ancient Fathers, both Greek and Latin, were not to be misled either by the specious suggestion of Dionysius, or by the bold assertion of Eusebius more than seventy years afterwards. Neither of these great writers found any one to follow them in their theoretic inferences from the loose clause of Papias. The Fathers had the works of Papias in their hands and knew that he had nowhere disintegrated the individuality of the one and only "John" whom the Church would understand to be referred to when that name was mentioned. They also had in their hands the "Acts of Leucius," which are probably the chief source of Johannine traditions; and it is clear from the silence of Eusebius and Dionysius that there the Presbyter had no existence.¹ Accordingly Apollinarius, Anastasius Sinaita, Maximus, and many others, go on repeating that Papias was a hearer of *John the Apostle*, without so much as noticing that there was anything doubtful in the passage out of which Eusebius has conjured his shadowy Presbyter.

¹ This is an important fact, for Leucius was a pupil of St. John, and wrote in Asia Minor about A.D. 150. Epiphani., *Hæres.*, 51.

V. But some will say, have we not two Epistles which profess to emanate from "John the Presbyter"? Undoubtedly we have, and this is one of the strongest evidences that "John the Presbyter" was no other than "John the Apostle," for as St. John nowhere claims his Apostolic authority, he would least of all be likely to do so in two private notes to otherwise unknown individuals; notes which do not contain a single item of importance except where they exactly coincide with the thoughts and indeed the actual words of the First Epistle; notes which no separate "John the Presbyter" could possibly have written unless his mind were an echo of the Apostle's as well as his name. The Apostle calls himself "the Presbyter" in these little private letters, because the title sufficiently indicated his personality as the aged Head of the Asiatic Churches, and as one who belonged to a past epoch.¹ No other designation would have been so simple, so dignified, and so suitable. And most certainly Papias was not influenced by this circumstance; for, while he was acquainted with the *First* Epistle of St. John, he does not seem to have known of the existence of the Second or Third.

VI. But the use of this designation, "the Elder," is further illustrated by Papias himself. He prefaces one of his oral traditions with the words, "These things *the Elder* used to say." We have seen that he used the word "Elders" in its narrower sense as synonymous with "Apostles." He meant by the term those who were the oldest and the most venerated sources of tradition. He certainly would not have given this specific title to any one who belonged only to the second generation, and who would therefore have been a contemporary of his own. By "the Elder" he has been always and rightly understood to mean John who, as the last survivor of the Apostolic band, was

¹ I do not refer to the parallel case of St. Paul calling himself "the aged" in Philemon 9, because the word *πρεσβυτης* may there mean "an ambassador."

"the Elder" κατ' ἐξοχήν. He does not give this title even to Aristion, though he too was a living witness of facts connected with the life and ministry of Christ.

Again, the remarks ascribed to this intensely venerated "Elder" are such as we can hardly imagine that any one short of an Apostle, and such an Apostle as St. John, would have had authority to make. For instance, the Gospel of St. Mark is universally believed to have been written under the guidance of St. Peter. The numerous graphic and vivid touches in which it abounds, as well as many other circumstances, lend probability to this tradition. Now who is the original authority for this belief? None other than "the Elder" himself. He informs Papias that "Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately all that he (Peter) related."¹ Now, such being the case, what ordinary disciple even of the first generation would have ventured to criticize *ex cathedra*—to criticize as though from the standpoint of wider and more intimate knowledge—a Gospel which rested on the authority of the Chief of the Apostles? Surely there was no living man who would have ventured to do this unless he were one whose opportunities of information were greater even than those of St. Peter. Yet "the Elder" does so. He informed Papias that though St. Mark wrote truthfully, to the best of his remembrance, he did *not* write the events of Christ's life and teaching in "chronological order" (οὐ μέντοι τάξει). Now this we should have thought, apart from the Fourth Gospel, is exactly what St. Mark does. But yet "the Elder" is right, because the Elder is none other than the Apostle and the Evangelist. He can speak even of St. Mark in a tone of superiority, as of one who "neither heard

¹ Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39. Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν. The words may mean, "Wrote accurately all that he (Mark) remembered;" or, "all that he (Peter) related." Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 74. Here again we notice the ambiguity of the style of Papias.

the Lord nor followed Him." He knew, as perhaps no other man knew, that the Synoptic Evangelists were but imperfectly informed as to the events and discourses of that ministry in *Judæa*, as apart from Galilee, which it was his own special privilege to make known to the world. Hence he can even venture to say of St. Peter himself, that "he used to frame his teachings with reference to the present needs of his hearers, and not as making a connected narrative of the Lord's discourses." What mere secondary Presbyter would have spoken in terms of such familiarity and even equality of "the Pilot of the Galilean Lake"? In such criticisms do we not hear unmistakably the accents of an Apostle?

VII. There is, so far as I can see, but one slight objection to the arguments which I have here stated. It is that, if our conclusion be correct, Papias mentions *Aristion* in the same breath with St. John the Apostle, and even puts *Aristion's* name first.

I fully admit that this mention of *Aristion* is perplexing. Of this *Aristion* we know absolutely nothing.¹ It is startling, and it is a little painful, to find Papias referring to him as an eminent contemporary witness to the truth of the Gospel narrative, when we can give no information whatever respecting him. He is a *nominis umbra* and nothing more.

So strongly has this been felt that some—and among them Renan—suppose, that instead of "the disciples of the Lord" in the second clause of the passage of Papias, we ought to read "*the disciples of disciples* (*μαθηταὶ μαθητῶν*) of the Lord," and that the word *μαθητῶν*, which would relegate *Aristion* and "John the Presbyter" to the second generation of disciples, has dropped out by the clerical

¹ There is no authority for the assertion of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 46), which speaks of his martyrdom, and connects him with the Church of Smyrna.

error known as *homœoteleuton*. Another suggestion is that the name of John in the *first* clause is simply interpolated. But, since neither Eusebius nor any one else knew or dreamt of such readings, the conjectures merely rest on foregone conclusions. If we may thus tamper with ancient authors, we may make them say anything that we please. Moreover, a person who belonged to the *second* generation of disciples would not have furnished the sort of authority which Papias required. To that second generation he himself may be said to have belonged, for he was a contemporary of the daughters of Philip, and (as we have seen reason to believe) had talked in his youth with John the Apostle. What he wanted for the purposes of his "Exposition," was oral testimony derived at first hand from the original sources.

I have sometimes thought, and still think, that Aristion is a name which conceals some well-known person.¹ The Jewish apostles commonly bore two names; one among their own countrymen, and one for use among the Gentiles. There is nothing to forbid the supposition that the otherwise unknown Aristion may in reality have been some Apostle or Apostolic man who, like St. John and St. Philip, had taken refuge in Asia from the storm of persecution and calamity which had burst over Judea, and who was known at Hierapolis by the Greek name Aristion. If this very reasonable and moderate supposition be allowed, all difficulty vanishes. What Papias then means to say is that, long before he wrote his book it had been his habit to gather all he could about the statements of the Apostles whom he calls "Elders"—and among them about the statements of John—from those who had seen them; and that he also

¹ When I wrote this I was entirely unaware that Krenkel in his *Der Apostel Johannes*, p. 117, had been led to make exactly the same conjecture. *Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!* Polycrates tells us that John and Philip were at this time the "two great lights of Asia." If "Philip" were not a Greek name one might have suspected that Aristion was a local name borne by Philip.

took notes of the living "oracles" furnished to him *directly* by Aristion (who was evidently well-known to Papias's readers) and even—which is the reason why he keeps the name to the last as being the fact which he most wished to emphasize—by "John the Elder;" the same John—ὁ πᾶνν—the only John of whom any one knew anything—who so long survived his brother Apostles and to whose *indirect* testimony Papias has just referred.

VIII. We have, then, sifted to the bottom the whole of the so-called evidence for the existence of a "John the Presbyter" who was not John the Apostle.

It is—

1. A passage of Papias, perfectly capable of quite a different interpretation, and which seems to have received a quite different interpretation, not only for a full century after he was dead, but also (in spite of Eusebius) in subsequent times.

2. A hesitating and tentative guess of Dionysius, rising solely from his avowed inability to regard the Apostle as the author of the Apocalypse.

3. Some dubious gossip (φασίν) about two tombs at Ephesus, which, if trustworthy at all, was believed by some to be due to an attempt to reconcile the inventions of rival guides.

4. Eagerness on the part of Eusebius to support this inverted pyramid of conjectures, out of positive dislike to the Apocalypse caused by the abuses of Millenarians.¹

"Only this, and nothing more"! And these are the grounds on which we are now asked to set aside the positive testimony of Justin Martyr, of Polycarp, of Polycrates, of Irenæus, of Apollonius, of Clemens of Alexandria, of Origen,

¹ Speaking of the "certain strange parables and teachings of the Saviour, and certain other somewhat mythical things," which Papias recorded, "from unwritten tradition," Eusebius specially mentions "some millennium of years after the resurrection from the dead, during which the kingdom of Christ shall be established bodily upon this earth."

of Andreas, of Arethas, and in fact of unbroken Church tradition, and to assign the works of the last and one of the greatest Apostles, to an obscure and dubious Presbyter! It is on this evidence—so late and so tottering—evidence based on an awkwardly expressed but perfectly explicable passage of Papias, a simple writer who had no pretence to subtlety of intellect or grace of style,—and on a professed quotation from Papias by Georgius Hamartolos (in the ninth century) who, in the very same sentence, attributes to Origen an opinion which his own writings shew to be false,—that some critics have ventured to rewrite the history of the first century; to assert, in spite of overwhelming evidence, that the Apostle St. John never was in Asia at all; that Polycarp never saw him; that the John for whom Polycarp expressed so profound a reverence was only a "Presbyter" who, like himself, belonged to the second generation of Christians; that Irenæus was mistaken in supposing that Polycarp meant the Apostle when he only meant the Presbyter; that, if this be thought impossible, the letter of Irenæus to Florinus must be regarded as a forgery;¹ that this "Presbyter," whose very existence was only conjectured a century later, is quoted as an oracle by Papias; that Polycrates, himself Bishop of Ephesus less than a century after John's death, made the same preposterous mistake which is attributed to Irenæus;² and that nebulous as he is, unknown as he is to early writers, utterly as every fact about him has perished, the "Presbyter" was still the

¹ This entirely baseless suggestion of Scholten does not at all help his cause, for, apart from the letter to Florinus, the testimony of Irenæus in his great work, *Contra Hæreses*, is quite distinct.

² Scholten sets aside the testimony of Polycrates because he calls John "a priest wearing the *petalon*." But, (1) It is by no means impossible that St. John, who, at one period, was so fond of symbols, may have adopted this symbol to express the truth which he so prominently states (Rev. i. 6; v. 10). (2) It is not clear that Polycrates, in this highly rhetorical passage, meant his words to be taken literally. (3) Even if he did, he may have been misled by giving a literal meaning to some metaphor of St. John.

author either of the Gospel and Epistle, or of the Apocalypse, or of the Second and Third Epistles, or of all these writings alike. *Credat Judæus Apella—non ego!*

But the impugnors of St. John's Asiatic work raise one or two chronological difficulties. They say that if Irenæus knew Polycarp, who knew St. John, all three must have attained to extraordinary longevity. The longevity need not have been very unusual. Tradition has always supposed that St. John reached extreme old age. Supposing that he died as early as A.D. 90, and that Irenæus wrote about A.D. 150, then, as M. Renan remarks, the difference which separated the two would be the same as that which separates us from the last years of Voltaire. Yet, without any miracle of longevity, M. de Rémusat had often conversed about Voltaire with l'Abbé Morellet, who had actually known him. If the martyrdom of Polycarp took place, as Mr. Waddington seems to have proved, in A.D. 155, Polycarp was then 86 years old. Consequently he must have been born in A.D. 69, and would have been at least 21 years old when St. John died; and there is not the least difficulty in the supposition that Irenæus, as a boy, had seen and known a man who had conversed with the Apostle who had laid his head on Jesus' breast.

A credulous spirit of innovation is welcome to believe and to proclaim that any or all of St. John's writings were written by "John the Presbyter." They were:—but "John the Presbyter" is none other than John the Apostle.

F. W. FARRAR.

THE GOSPEL AS A LAW OF LIBERTY.

JAMES ii. 12.

THIS expression, "the law of liberty," is characteristic of St. James, and is remarkable as indicating his sympathy with St. Paul in the very point in respect to which the two sacred writers have been often represented as at variance. It occurs also in the first Chapter of the Epistle; and in both places it is so used as apparently to convey a comprehensive description of the Gospel, regarded as the law of life. "Whoso," says St. James (Chapter i. 25), "looketh into the perfect law of liberty and continueth therein, . . . this man shall be blessed in his deed." There are many points of sympathy between the Epistle of St. James and those of St. Peter, as might be expected from a certain similarity in the character of the two men, and from their intimate relations in the early history of the Church; and we find accordingly in the Epistles of St. Peter a similar apprehension of the liberty which is one of the characteristics of the Christian. In his first Epistle, he bids (ii. 16) those whom he addresses live "as free," though "not using their liberty for a cloak of maliciousness; but as the servants of God." In his second Epistle (Chapter ii. 19), he represents the false teachers, who would fain imitate the message of the Gospel, as promising men liberty. Our Lord, as is recorded in the Gospel of St. John (Chapter viii. 31, 32), had described his work in a similar manner. "If," He said to the Jews who believed on Him, "ye continue in my word . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." In language which offers a striking parallel to that which St. Paul subsequently used, He proceeded (Chapter viii. 34-36): "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but

the Son abideth ever. If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." Combining these expressions, and bearing in mind the simple, and almost casual, manner in which some of them arise, it seems evident that Liberty was, from the first, one of the most characteristic words of the Gospel. One of the chief blessings which Christians enjoyed was that of freedom; their very law was a law of liberty. This was so much the case that it was necessary, from the first, to warn them that their liberty was not an emancipation from all obligations whatever; and one of the earliest dangers of the Church was a transformation of liberty into licence.

As has just been said, these observations indicate an interesting point of harmony between those who have been called the three pillar apostles,—James, Peter, and John,—on the one side, and St. Paul on the other. To them, no less than to him, the Gospel was a Gospel of freedom. But, while thus bearing in mind the essential harmony of the apostolic writers on this subject, it is to St. Paul that we must look for the deepest apprehension, and the fullest exposition, of this characteristic privilege of the Christian. It was in great measure the mission of his life to vindicate the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free; and the idea seems sometimes, in his mind, to embody the whole substance of the Christian revelation. Thus, when predicting the ultimate deliverance of all creation (Romans viii. 19–23), he speaks of the creature as being "delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty," or rather the liberty of the glory, of the children of God. This liberty seems equivalent in his mind to redemption. "Ourselves also," he proceeds, "which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption, of our bodies." On the one hand, in the natural condition of man he sees bondage, corruption, death; on the other hand, liberty,

redemption, life. The very objections which he refutes enable us to judge how his whole teaching must have been imbued with this thought. He finds it necessary to protest, with earnestness and reiteration, against what has since been termed the Antinomian tendency of his teaching. "What shall we say then?" he exclaims (Romans vi. 1) "shall we continue in sin: that grace may abound?" "Shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid" (Romans vi. 15). It would seem evident that the Apostle's teaching was thus misconstrued, even in his lifetime; and from such a fact we cannot but conclude that there was something peculiarly broad, emphatic, and comprehensive in his proclamation of Christian liberty. It may well have been one of those points on which, as St. Peter says in his second Epistle (iii. 16), St. Paul was sometimes hard to be understood, and on which his language was wrested by those who were unlearned and unstable, unto their own destruction. But, for that very reason, we may be sure that a full apprehension of his meaning, and a hearty sympathy with it, are of cardinal importance for a due realization of the character of the Gospel; and an attempt to offer some elucidation of it may not be unprofitable.

Now that which startled the Jews of St. Paul's day was his use of language which seemed to imply the emancipation of Christians from obligation to the law, the word "law" being used in a general sense, and without any apparent attempt to distinguish between the moral and the ceremonial law. Nor, in fact, can such a distinction be, without violence, imported into the Apostle's language. There are some passages, particularly in the Epistle to the Galatians, where the ceremonial law may seem more especially in view, and where the Apostle is arguing more immediately against the attempt to impose the whole Mosaic system upon Christians. But when, in the Epistle

to the Romans (Chapter iii. 21), he declares that "now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested," the law of which he is speaking must needs be the moral law, on which he had been insisting in the two previous Chapters. "Therefore by the deeds of the law," he had concluded in the preceding verse, "there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin." That must be a moral law; and it is from this, and from all its consequences, from its power alike over the body and the soul, that the Christian is emancipated. "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law;" and it is over this that God gives us the victory through Jesus Christ our Lord. It is this which the Apostle has in view when he declares, with such emphatic reiteration, that we are not under the law, but under grace; that we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held. To the mass of his countrymen, to whom the law was the ultimate expression of the very will of God, it is no wonder if this seemed startling language; and in greater or less degree, and in one form or another, it has always been something of a stumbling-block to the world, and even to a considerable portion of the Christian Church. The story is well known of the Pagan priests, who, when some Christian missionaries had been allowed to announce to the king of their country the nature of their message, advised him that it was a dangerous doctrine, since it taught that men could escape the consequences of their evil deeds. In another form, that is the very objection which St. Paul tells us was raised against his teaching in his own time. That is the objection which was raised against the characteristic teaching of the Reformation; and the same objection is still heard at the present day, urged alike by Roman Catholic divines against Protestant teaching, and by unbelievers against the whole Christian scheme. Even to some minds which are in sympathy with the Church, there seems something para-

doxical about the doctrine. Let it be supposed, they say, that a man has been forgiven, and has been received into God's favour; yet, if he falls away again, the law takes its effect upon him, and he is again under its condemnation. He had not, therefore, escaped it entirely. It was simply dormant; and every Christian remains bound by it to this extent—that he is sure to suffer for violating its provisions. Whole systems of Christian thought, and the theology of a large part of the Christian world, have been coloured by this difficulty; and for centuries the interpretation of the truth, “Ye are not under the law, but under grace,” has divided the Christian world in the West.

Nevertheless, the most elementary principle of our faith must always rest upon the broadest possible acceptance of the Apostle's proclamation. The central message of the Gospel is that of pardon, of the blotting out of our sins, and of our ultimate salvation. But this message must be admitted to be a standing supersession of the moral law, considered as an operative force. So far as that law is left alone to work its full effect, the blotting out of actual sin is inconceivable. If it be admitted, the law practically ceases to have that sanction which alone constitutes it law in the proper sense of the word. Its penalties may be avoided, and offences against it will not necessarily receive the punishment it assigns to them. But the Christian minister is authorized and commanded to convey this assurance to every sinner, however grievous. He is bound to declare to every such person that, on his repentance, God will not impute his past iniquities to him, and that the spiritual and moral consequences which would have fallen upon him under the natural operation of the moral law will be averted. That is an assurance of which the sinner often appreciates the magnitude and the wonder far more than those who proclaim it to him. He feels himself in the grasp of the law. In proportion

as his conscience and moral sense are awakened, he feels how that law penetrates to his inmost soul, and reveals to him the ruin of his spiritual nature. But no matter how great the wreck which may have been brought about, no matter how vast the moral ruin a man may have incurred, the Gospel proclaims to him—at least with only one terrible exception—the possibility of deliverance, the possibility of a reversal of the dreadful doom which the law would pronounce upon him, and of his spiritual emancipation. In this respect alone the Christian dispensation must be regarded as inherently miraculous—even more miraculous with respect to the moral than with respect to the physical nature of man. To say to a sinful man, “Thy sins be forgiven thee,” and to say to the paralytic, “Arise and walk,” are utterances similar in character, and differing only in the spheres of man’s nature to which they are applied. The one is a supersession of the ordinary operation of physical laws; the other is a supersession of the ordinary operation of moral laws.

We cannot, therefore, without forfeiting the most necessary of all the blessings of the Gospel, forego the bold and comprehensive language in which the Apostle declares our deliverance from the law. Nor, on the other hand, unless we learn to enter into it, can we possibly rise to the height of our privileges, powers, and even responsibilities. We must not be content to use it as if we were afraid of it, and had to guard and qualify it in order to avert mischievous consequences. No such consequences can ensue if we bear in mind the positive as well as negative side of the Apostle’s proclamation. It is, first of all, to be borne in mind that he is not using the word “law” in the vague sense in which it is often used among ourselves, as though it meant a mere rule or guide. In that sense, as “a directive rule unto goodness of operation,” the use of the law can never cease. But the Apostle uses it

in the sense of an operative power "over all persons and in all causes supreme." It is that operative supremacy which, under the Gospel, is abolished, and it is from bondage to that supremacy that we are freed. That is the negative side of the proclamation. But what is its positive side? Is the law swept away so as to leave us to ourselves, uncontrolled and irresponsible? By no means. It is simply superseded by a higher authority, and that authority is no other than God Himself, in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. "Now the righteousness of God," says the Apostle (Romans iii. 21, 22) "without the law is manifested, . . . even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe." "We have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand" (Romans v. 1, 2). To Christ all power has been given in heaven and earth; it is He that is ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead; and, under the Gospel, instead of being confronted with a moral law, we are confronted with Him—with a perfect moral and spiritual Being. No law could adequately express his infinite will, his infinite power, his infinite holiness, his infinite mercy. He, and He alone, is the Lord, the Ruler, the Guide of our souls; and the grand work of the Gospel is to bring us into direct relation with Him, and subject us to the free and ever varying determinations of his perfect will. It is here that St. Paul was so directly in opposition to the current of Jewish thought in his day, and to so much of the thought of our own. The characteristic of Jewish thought was to suppose that the law had been laid down as eternally governing the course of life and the destiny of men; until at length it impressed itself on the Rabbinical mind with such overpowering stringency as practically to banish the apprehension of God Himself. Men

ceased under such teaching to be directly dependent upon God. They were dependent upon the law; and, so long as they observed its prescriptions, they supposed that, by what we should now call a sort of law of nature, their blessedness was assured. The law being thus the sole, paramount, and final authority in life, the minuteness with which it was interpreted and applied by the Rabbis was not merely natural, but necessary; and the Talmud is, in principle, as reasonable a development as the vast mass of our judicial decisions, or so-called case-law. If any law, of whatever kind, is to be supreme over every circumstance of human nature, it must, in course of time, become infinitely elaborated. But St. Paul's grand argument is directed to overthrow this apparent domination of impersonal legal force, and to bring every soul into free and direct personal relations with its God and Saviour. Under the Gospel, personal promises are held out by God, on the one hand; by man, on the other, they are responded to by personal faith and personal trust; and these become the main influences in the course of life.

Now, from this point of view, it is evident that the position of Christians, as transformed by the message of the Gospel, exposes them to far severer obligations than before. Men may make some sort of attempt to satisfy themselves in the observance of a law, however elaborate or burdensome. They can formulate it, or they can minimise it, or they can pay it sufficient outward respect to soothe their consciences. But no such illusions or evasions are practicable in relation to One who is perfect God and perfect Man; and if, as the Apostle puts the case in his forcible imagery (Romans vii. 4), we "are become dead to the law through the body of Christ, that we should be married to another, even to Him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God," there is henceforth no escape for us from the most

complete, minute, and penetrating judgment. The moral law, as understood by the light of nature, or under the revelation of the Old Testament, is sufficiently terrible to our consciences; the Sermon on the Mount is severer still. But what must it be to be in direct relation with the Author of the Sermon on the Mount, and to have his eye continually upon us? It can only have been in complete forgetfulness of the new relation thus proclaimed and revealed by St. Paul, that his declaration of the supersession of the law can have had so much as the appearance of Antinomianism. The law is replaced by the Author of the law; we are brought into direct personal relation with Him; and our peace depends upon our complete surrender to Him, and ultimate harmony with his will.

But, at the same time, it will now be seen with what propriety the new order of things thus established is called the "law of liberty." In the first place, by being thus brought under the influence of a Person, and a perfect Person, instead of under that of a law, complete freedom is afforded to all the emotions, the varying impulses, the changing circumstances of our souls. As in the water face answereth to face, so does the heart of man to man, and still more does the heart of man to a perfect Man. No laws, no rules, no code, however elaborate, could be free enough to act as an adequate standard, test, and guide of the infinitely varying characters of mankind. But in proportion as we familiarize ourselves with the Gospel, and submit ourselves to the influence of the Saviour's spirit, do we feel the complete sufficiency of that Spirit to direct, to chasten, and to guide us in every circumstance and in every difficulty. When, moreover, we speak of the Saviour's Spirit, we do not merely mean a tone or a tendency; but we mean that sacred Person, who is one with the Father and the Son, who interprets to our hearts their words and their influences,

and who aids us in our endeavours to follow his guidance. "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities : for we know not what we should pray for as we ought : but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us" (Romans viii. 26). This is, indeed, a "law of liberty"—a law as free, and as elastic, as the will and the mind of God, independent of all forms, but ever true to the same Spirit ; one amidst an infinite diversity, and diverse in its manifestations of a perfect unity. In proportion as this position of the Christian was realized by the Apostles, his liberty could not but impress itself upon them as his distinguishing prerogative ; and they would feel, as St. James says, that "he that looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and so continueth," this man shall be blessed in his deed.

But there remains another truth, not less potent, which is illustrated by this noble expression of the Apostle. As we have seen, St. Paul declares our relation to mere law to be abrogated, and substitutes for it a relation to persons. We are dead to the law ; but we live to Christ and to God. The consequence is that moral obligations, which before wore the character of duties, to be performed under peril of penalties, assume the character of willing acts of devotion to loving and beloved Persons. The extent to which the whole aspect of morality is transformed by this change of view cannot adequately be expressed by any imagery short of that used by the Apostle. We are "dead to the law" in proportion as we realize this condition. In true personal relations "there is no law." In proportion as the relation between father and son, husband and wife, friend and friend, is true and healthy, there is no law between them. It is a pleasure to each of them to indulge the free play of affection, regard, and devotion. It is in this sense that there is no law to the Christian ; and he must rise to this view of his position before he can enjoy the benefits which the Gospel has conferred upon him. It is the sense of being confined

and restricted by laws, which, as St. Paul shews so forcibly, actually incites to sin. The soul rebels against the restriction, and asserts itself, and snatches at a pleasure which it deems denied it. But let the case be apprehended in the full breadth of St. Paul's bold language; let a man feel that it is not a question of rendering obedience to a restrictive law, but of living in harmony and union with the perfect will of a perfect Being, of becoming one with absolute goodness, peace and beauty—let him, in a word, feel that the law, if it be a law, is a law of liberty; let this apprehension be distinctly before his mind, and it is hardly conceivable that he can fail to yield to such a gracious influence. Undoubtedly the method which St. Paul pursued is that which inspired the grace and virtue of the early Church. It was not in terror, but in joy, not under the bondage of a law, but in the freedom of personal guidance, personal love, and personal trust, that the saints and martyrs of the early Church rose to such noble heights. If we examine our own hearts, we shall probably see that our failures, and our lack of spiritual energy, have been in great measure due to our regarding the Gospel, consciously or unconsciously, as a law of bondage; and we shall find it more and more easy to throw off the sins that beset us in proportion as we regard it as a law of liberty. We shall thus learn that there are no limits, either to our responsibilities on the one hand, or to our capacities on the other. The former are measured by the exhortation: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect;" the latter by the promise: "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name"—in submission, that is, to Me, and in sympathy with my Spirit—"He will give it you." Thus may we speak and thus may we act, as those who shall not only be judged, but be guided, protected, and saved, by the Law of Liberty.

HENRY WACE.

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST OF ST. PAUL.

V. SUMMARY.

WE have now completed our survey of this momentous subject, though we are still far from having exhausted it. In looking back over our work, we are ourselves conscious of many points which have been omitted or ignored, and are fully persuaded that it will one day be carried to a more satisfactory close by other and abler hands than ours. Our aim has been simply to gather together as many of the Pauline statements as appeared to bear, directly or indirectly, on the historical life of the Christian Founder. In pursuing this aim, we have tried to select typical or representative instances, to choose only such facts as would present different features of the portrait; we have avoided all statements which simply repeated traits of character already gained, and have endeavoured to make each new section exhibit some new trait. On another plan, it would have been easy to have added enormously to the passages we have cited, without, however, in any degree heightening the effect of the portrait it has been our aim to delineate. It is to the consideration of this effect that our labours have now brought us. The analytic portion of our study being ended, the synthesis begins. We have examined the various statements of the Apostle on the historical life of the Christian Founder; but we have examined them without order or arrangement, taking them simply in the sequence in which they occur. It now becomes our duty to reduce them to order, in other words, to blend the several features into a single portrait. We must so group together the facts which St. Paul records that we may see the Founder of our Faith as the Apostle saw Him—a living and life-giving personality. And, as we do so, we must inquire whether the Christ of St. Paul is also the Christ depicted by the Evangelists.

Let our readers bear in mind, then, the portrait of Christ presented in our Gospel narratives, while we gather into one the scattered features of the Pauline Christ; and, as they look on this picture and on that, let them determine for themselves whether the Christ of St. Paul is also the Christ of the Gospels.

Almost contemporaneously with the birth of St. Paul, and therefore in all probability during the reign of Augustus at Rome and of Herod the Great in Judea, there was born, in Judea, the man who was destined to be the Founder of the Christian Church. His birth was not wholly unexpected. It came "in the fulness of the time;" a long historical development had prepared the way for it; and it therefore found men who were "waiting for the Consolation of Israel." In the days of St. Paul it was currently believed that this Advent comprised a twofold birth. It was held that part of his nature came from above, while the other part descended from a human lineage. Yet his "divine part" did not come down on Him as a sudden emanation; like his human nature, it submitted to the limitations of birth and growth. That human nature sprang from a royal stock; He was a lineal descendant of the kings of Israel, "the son of David according to the flesh." But He came into the world at a time when the glory had departed from the house of David; his outward conditions were poor and humble. The humility of obedience was his, no less than the humility of poverty. In all things He became like unto his brethren, submitting or being made subject to all the ordinances of the Jewish law. He was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth, and forty days after was presented in the temple. He was educated according to the precepts of the Law, and developed in the two directions aimed at by those precepts—the favour of God and the favour of man. At twelve or thirteen years of age He must

have been called to pass through the probation which awaited every Jewish lad of his years ; He must have begun to take on Himself the vows and responsibilities which others had hitherto taken for Him, and to experience that self-questioning which such an experience involves. From the statement that He was "made under the Law," we may infer, with some degree of probability, that He entered on his public work at about the age of thirty. The moment He has entered upon it, we find Him enlisting and retaining the love of his contemporaries. The impression he produces is unique. Though He is in the poorest conditions, He is felt to be greater than the greatest. He gives the impression of having voluntarily surrounded *Himself* with these humble conditions ; originally rich, He has deigned to become poor. And this impression of wealth and greatness is created, at least in the first instance, not by what He does, but by what He is. That which first arrests attention is a *moral* miracle—the spectacle of a sinless life. By a nation which held sinlessness to belong to the Creator alone, and to be impossible to the creature, this man is recognized as an exception to the law of humanity, as One who "knew no sin." Yet, strange to say, we are immediately confronted by another, and at first sight, contradictory side of his nature. This sinless soul is seen to be in mysterious contact with sin, a contact so close that St. Paul describes it in the bold phrase, He "was made sin." His absolute purity touches the absolute impurity of our fallen nature ; and, in some inconceivable way, takes it up into itself. His stainless spirit comes into contiguity, and therefore into conflict, with that force of moral corruption which is the antithesis of his own being, and He is "tempted" even as we are.

This was the moral impression left by the Christian Founder on the eyewitnesses of his life and mission. What was his own conception of Himself and of his mission ?

St. Paul's answer is lucid and direct. He tells us that He was penetrated with the conviction that He had a work to do, and that this work was nothing more nor less than the salvation of mankind. He proposed to save them by a life and death of sacrifice. In the execution of that task He was conscious of two emotions, each of which seems to exclude the other,—a sense of obligation, and a sense of joy. On the one hand, He felt that He was surrendering Himself to a law above that of his own will; on the other hand, He felt that, in obeying this law, He was satisfying his own deepest desire—the desire to express his love; no man was taking his life from Him, He had Himself the power to lay it down. Love was the motive of his mission, and yet his mission itself was sacrifice. The very essence of his historic life is self-denial. He restrained the powers that were in Him. He was able both to bear injury and to refrain from it, to exhibit both the meekness of passive endurance and the gentleness of calm action; He did not strive nor cry.

His converts were drawn, for the most part, from the lower ranks. They consisted, with one or two exceptions, of the poor, the humble, and the unknown; “not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble, were called.” Among these converts there were twelve whom He singled out to be the pillars of the primitive Church. They were called Apostles. The names of three of them have come down to us,—Peter, James, and John. After his death these three constituted an Apostolate within the Apostolate. Of this inner circle Peter was the prominent figure. As he appears in the Pauline Gospel he is a strong bold man, who is nevertheless subject to moments of weakness and vacillation; a man who might very well be conscious, at one instant, of the profoundest and most sincere devotion to his Master, and yet, at another instant, prove utterly disloyal to Him.

These were the men whom the Christian Founder set Himself to teach and train for his service. And when we inquire into the method and matter of his instruction, we are impressed with the fact that He had a twofold method—a method which may be called mystical, and a method which was eminently practical; and that these two methods, so far from being adverse to each other, were really one. He insisted on a personal union between Himself and his followers, and declared that all their power must be derived from the impartation of his essential life: to this extent He was a mystic. Yet this power, so mystically derived, was an eminently practical power, and conveyed the ability to work in the duty and the drudgery of the common day. He had not come to destroy the practical precepts of the law of Moses, but to fulfil them, and to get them fulfilled. He professed to help the Law to accomplish its mission by giving it a higher strength. He claimed to fulfil by transcending it, by spiritualizing it, by reducing all its precepts to the single precept of love.

His attitude toward the Messianic kingdom resembled his attitude to the Law. He professed to be Himself the Messiah, and to be engaged in founding his kingdom. Yet in his hands the Kingdom, like the Law, was spiritualized. He declared that it was not to come with observation, but to have the force of its sceptre in righteousness and peace and joy; and He held that its limits would in no sense be abridged though its members should pay tribute to the Cæsars of this world. He taught men to take no thought for the things of the morrow, to bless their persecutors, to do good to those who injured them, to forgive their enemies, to let their light shine before men, or, as St. Paul puts it, to provide things honest in the sight of all men. And—witness the scene at the Last Supper—He had the power of bringing these precepts home by that symbolic or parabolic style of teaching which is even now so attractive to the

multitude. To enable men to keep these precepts, He promised them the gift of the Holy Spirit. That Holy Spirit was nothing less than the Spirit of God; yet this Man claimed not only to possess but to impart it. He promised his followers that this Spirit should come upon them in the form of certain gifts, or gracious mental and moral endowments, which should multiply by use. The Spirit was to fill many offices, discharge many functions. It was to guide men into all truth by revealing the deep things of God. It was to confer power of utterance, so that the unlettered peasant might speak without forethought. It was to be the advocate and intercessor for the souls of men. It was to breathe peace and joy over the troubled heart. It was to convict the world of sin by the revelation of its own purity. But what is most of all to be noticed is the power it was to exert in identifying the life of the Master with the lives of his disciples. It was to constitute a bond of vital union between them and Him like that which unites the head to the members in a human body. Their interests were to become reciprocal, their sacrifices common, their hopes identical; so vital was to be the union between them that the slightest injury inflicted on the meanest member of his spiritual body was declared to be an injury done to *Him*.

It is not surprising that on men who had thus become one with Him, and therefore one with each other, the Christian Founder should have urged the duty of being of one heart and mind, and of dwelling together in peace and unity, since it was but fitting that those who had been joined by one Spirit to Him should manifest this inward fellowship in their lives. Yet there is another feature of the picture which must not be overlooked. He who identified Himself with his followers, nevertheless claimed the right of empire over them. He spoke to them with an authority no other "master" had ever assumed. His teaching was prefaced

with the words, "Verily, verily," and its substance rang in tune with the preface. It was categorical, unqualified, and, above all, positive. It replaced the "Thou shalt not" of old time by "Thou shalt." His personal claims were of the boldest. He professed to be the Judge of the whole world. He promised his followers that they should sit down with Him on thrones, sharing his seat of judgment and of empire. He sent them out to disciple all nations, and bade them baptize in his Name; and it was by his authority that they coupled that Name with the name of the Father and of the Holy Ghost. He not only wrought miracles, but gave his disciples power to work them. The condition He required for the working of a miracle was faith. To faith He attributed a dynamical power by which it could remove mountains. He possessed, and conferred, the gift of healing diseases. He could discern evil spirits, and cast them out. Above all, as we learn from the opening chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, there was in Him that seed of resurrection which implied an absolute triumph over the power of death.

But, although He shared these supernatural powers with his disciples, it was not on these powers that He wished them to dwell. It was not his will that they should be withdrawn from the light of common day, or that they should shrink from the natural relations and pursuits of the world around them. Hence He insisted on the permanence and inviolable sanctity of the marriage tie. But He had a deeper objection than this to the pride of supernatural endowments. Such a pride was alien to the very spirit of his religion. The spirit He wished to cultivate in his disciples was his own spirit of self-sacrifice. He demanded that they should die to the old life, and be born again into the new; and He evidently meant to express by that figure the putting away of all self-consciousness and the death of all pride. Nor did He wish this spirit of humility to be

exhibited only toward Himself and in the more sacred and transcendent aspects of the new life ; He commanded them to carry it out into all their relations and intercourse with their fellow-men. The essential feature of his Gospel was the law of love. He taught in his precepts and enforced by his example the duty of bearing one another's burdens. The burden which He specially wished each man to bear was the moral weakness of his brother, even as He bore the "weakness" of us all. He declared that if any brother fell from the path of rectitude, fell so manifestly as to be actually detected in the fault, it was the province of the good man to restore him. He held that the difference between the spiritual and the unspiritual consisted mainly in the presence or absence of this divine charity. He was Himself the great Burden-bearer. St. Paul implies that He was a Man of Sorrows, and that he himself had become the heir to his sorrows : in the sorrows of the Apostle, therefore, we may find a miniature of those of the Master. In both cases the secret of this divine sorrow was grief for fallen humanity, the loneliness of being debarred from a pure communion with human souls, and the passionate yearning to kindle in these souls a spark of the Divine purity. It was the sorrow which a parent feels in the fall of a child ; it was more than pity ; it was Love's appropriation of the guilt and misery of its object.

We have said that the Christ of St. Paul was conscious of a divine mission. He felt that He had come into the world with a work to do, and this work nothing less than the salvation of mankind. He was to establish the true Messianic Kingdom, whose foundations should endure for ever ; but He was to establish it by a method the very reverse of that anticipated by the Jewish fathers. They had looked for the shedding of the blood of their enemies ; He looked to the shedding of his own. He was to conquer by suffering ; He was to save life by giving up life ; He was

to make rich by becoming poor ; He was to give strength through his own weakness. From the beginning He was perfectly conscious of the bitter end ; it did not take Him by surprise : He voluntarily went forth to meet it. The hour of death was the hour toward which his life consciously moved. At length He saw this hour to be near. He felt that the time was at hand when He must leave his own : and, before He left them, He desired to meet with them once more. The meeting took place, and bore the character of a love-feast : it was his last supper with his disciples. As He sat with them his words and acts were very marked, very memorable. True to his parabolic style to the end, He predicted his approaching death, and that it would be a death of violence, by distributing to them fragments of the broken bread and draughts of the outpoured wine which He had taken as symbols of his own body and blood. Yet, in his consciousness of impending death, there was not a shade of fear ; never were his claims to greatness so strongly announced as in the moments which preceded the Agony and the Cross. He bade his followers keep this ordinance in remembrance of Him, and assured them that the shedding of his blood, which might seem to be the proof of his failure, was in very deed the proof of his triumph. He declared that in this solemn hour He had altered the old relation between the natural and the supernatural, and had established a new covenant between God and man ; that his death was to be the birth of a new creation, a regenerated world. Above all, in declaring his blood to be the seal of a new covenant, He laid claim, in the strongest terms, to a holiness without stain, and proclaimed that there was no longer room for any more sacrifice for sin, since the sacrifice of his own immaculate life had once for all taken away the sin of the world. In that claim to absolute sinlessness made by his own lips, and made before men who conceded sinlessness to God alone, He not only asserted his super-

natural power, but also his essential oneness with the Divine Life.

But while the Christian Founder was taking this solemn leave of his disciples, there was a traitor in the camp. He was betrayed into the hands of his enemies on the very night on which He bade them farewell. Who then were the enemies of Christ? How should a life so pure have provoked enmity? St. Paul tells us whence that enmity sprang. It sprang, he says, from a political misconception of the mission of Jesus. He had always professed to be the Founder of a new and permanent kingdom; but He had always declared that his kingdom was not of this world. Nevertheless it was just at this point that his aim was misconceived. The established governments of the day, or, as St. Paul calls them, "the princes of this world," were alarmed at the proclamation of a kingdom which should rule all other kingdoms. They did not see that it was to rule them by serving them. They were afraid of the new Gospel, and treated its herald as an adversary.

But though He was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, the life of the Christian Founder was not clandestinely stolen from him. It was publicly sacrificed, St. Paul tells us; not taken away in a popular tumult, nor filched from Him by a secret execution. He was tried under the form of a State prosecution, and condemned as a political revolutionary. The death to which He was adjudged was that which was reserved for the meanest slave—crucifixion. It was a kind of death admirably fitted to quench any poetical fictions that might have gathered round his name; and doubtless it would have quenched all faith in his claims if those claims had rested on no historical basis. Death, in all forms, was abhorrent to the Jew, as being the mark of an offended God; and St. Paul tells us that to hang upon a tree was deemed the most accursed of all its forms. By reserving the death of the cross for slaves, the Gentile

shewed that he too held it to be the most dishonourable form of death. In the sacrifice of the Son of Man, therefore, there was everything to repel the expectations and hopes of his followers, and to force them to the conclusion that their vision of his glory had been at best a mockery and a dream.

All at once, however, and at the very moment when it seemed for ever extinguished, the Faith of Christ rose from its ashes and spread itself through the world. That, indeed, is a fact of secular history which has never been denied. And when we ask for the secret of this strange recovery of power, St. Paul tells us that, on the third day after his burial, He who had died upon the cross rose from a grave which could no longer hold Him. On that very day there must have been some witnesses of his resurrection. But of these St. Paul says nothing. He simply records the fact as one perfectly well-known throughout the Christian community, and limits his narrative of testimonies to the subsequent appearances of the Master. These appearances were six in number. He first appeared to the Apostle whose very name indicates a strength and vigour of character which qualified him to be the guide and support of the infant Church—Peter, the Rock. Next, He manifested Himself to the disciples in their corporate capacity, probably when they were assembled for worship; though it is possible to gather from St. Paul's words that, on this occasion, some of them were not present. He appeared, for the third time, to a still larger company, numbering at least five hundred souls, and therefore including not merely the Apostolic band, but many of those who, although standing in the outer courts of the Tabernacle, had recognized the Pastor's voice and listened to Him gladly. Then He shewed Himself to a man who had not heretofore occupied a prominent place among his followers, but whose subsequent prominence in the

Christian Church requires, in order to account for it, some such manifestation as St. Paul records. He is simply spoken of as James, without any further designation or description ; and whether or not he be the Apostolic son of Alphæus is a question still much in debate. Be that as it may, he was, in St. Paul's days, a pillar of the Church ; and this fact alone strongly confirms the assertion that he was held to be a witness to the Resurrection. Once more the Lord revealed Himself to the Apostolic Company as they were assembled for worship ; and this time we are told by St. Paul that none of them were absent. From the opening Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans we learn that the effect of these manifestations was to impress the minds of his followers with a deeper sense of his authority ; He was thus "determined to be the Son of God *with power* ;" "all power was given unto Him in heaven and on earth." From a subsequent Chapter of the same Epistle (x. 6) we learn quite incidentally that, after these appearances, his visible presence was suddenly withdrawn from his disciples, and that He ascended into heaven. Yet, after his ascension, He revealed Himself once more ; and this time to a man whose prepossessions were all against Him, and who, at that very moment, was engaged in persecuting his Church : "Last of all, He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." This is the Apostle who testified these things, and who wrote these things. The Christ depicted in the Pauline Epistles is depicted by the man who professes to have been turned from a persecutor into a servant of the Christian Founder by a vision of his risen glory.

In thus enumerating the features of the Christ of St. Paul, we have carefully abstained from any attempt at embellishment. We have endeavoured to import nothing into the portrait which is not already there. We have

refrained even from supplying the gaps in the narrative by such probable links of association as would serve to explain the connection of its several incidents. In this respect our method is the very reverse of that adopted by negative critics. The Christ of Renan is a creation of modern Paris ; the Christ of Schenkel a creation of modern Berlin. The former is a fair Galilean moulded, by a quick sense of the beautiful, into an æsthetic consciousness of God within him ; the latter is a German rationalist struggling against the orthodox bigots of his day. It has been our endeavour to avoid the tendency toward creating a Christ out of such modern atmospheres. We have sought to recover the Christ of the first Christian atmosphere, and to present his portrait without adventitious colouring. We have reproduced an actual portrait drawn within the lifetime of the Christian Founder's contemporaries, and we have asked the reader to compare its lineaments with those of the Gospel portrait which he holds in his hands.

The result of the comparison cannot be doubtful. The two are one. The Christ of St. Paul is substantially the Christ revered by Christendom for eighteen hundred years ; and therefore this Christ of Christendom cannot be accounted for on any possible modification of the mythical theory. Men may, if they will, assign our Gospels to the first half of the second century ; such an hypothesis can only affect the date of their composition, and belongs simply to the province of literary criticism. In the light of St. Paul's Epistles the facts recorded in these Gospels are proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, not only to belong to the first Christian century, but to be the product of the first Christian age, and the objects of implicit belief with the first Christian converts. The questions, therefore, of the genuineness, the authenticity, and the date of our canonical Gospels no longer stand in the foreground ; the citadel can be saved apart from them.

The antiquity of these sacred writings is something; but the antiquity of the facts is everything: for it is the facts after all that constitute the real Gospel of Christ. With the historic Christ of St. Paul before us, we can afford to view, without alarm or regret, the discredit thrown upon much of that Patristic literature which our fathers deemed genuine testimony. What would the testimony of all the Apostolic Fathers united be worth in comparison with the fulness of this Pauline Gospel? If all the Scripture references once attributed to a Barnabas, a Hermas, an Ignatius, were proved to be valid still, they would contribute the veriest fragment to our conception of the Founder of our Faith as compared with the Christ depicted by St. Paul.

Let us suppose that these Four Epistles had come down to us, not as portions of the Sacred Volume, but as the works of a Classical writer, or of a Jewish scribe, who had been touched by the power and grace of Christ. In that case we should have held their evidence to be indisputable and overwhelming. Their semi-secular origin would have been assumed to lend weight to their Christian testimony. A corroborative passage of Tacitus, or a confirmatory quotation from Josephus, carries more conviction than the testimony of the Sacred Writers themselves to the truth of their own story. The apologetic value of the Epistles of St. Paul is underrated from the simple fact that they are bound up within the boards of the Bible. Yet the fallacy of this mode of thinking was pointed out by Dr. Chalmers more than fifty years ago. No part of his work on Christian Evidences is, to our mind, so suggestive and so powerful as that which deals with this particular topic. He reminds us that these Sacred Writers all belonged, at one period of their lives, to the hostile ranks. They were secular before they were sacred, disbelievers before they were believers. Their very conversion to Christianity is a Jewish or a heathen testimony to its

truth : and their writings come from a source as impartial as if they flowed from the pen of a Josephus or a Tacitus. St. Paul himself unites, in his Epistles, the testimony both of a Gentile and of a Jew. Up to the prime of manhood he was an adversary of the Christian Faith, and thought that in persecuting that Faith he was doing God good service. But though he was animated by a desire to revive the Jewish theocracy and restore the glory of his fathers, there is evidence to shew that he had caught somewhat of the Classical as well as of the Theocratic spirit, and blended the tendency of the Gentile with the prepossessions of the Jew. Suddenly he passed over into the ranks of his adversaries, and began to preach the Faith which he had striven to destroy. No explanation of the change has ever been suggested beyond his own declaration, that it pleased God to reveal Christ in him. His conversion is a triumph of Christianity ; and is his testimony to suffer thereby ? Is he to be esteemed a prejudiced witness because, when he wrote his Epistles, he had become a Christian believer ? What made him a believer ? That is the crucial question, and on the answer to it hangs the value of his testimony. It was not birth ; for he was born a Jew. It was not education ; for he was bred a Pharisee. It was not the spirit of his age ; for that was essentially an anti-Christian spirit. It was not the original bent of his own mind ; for we have his own authority for the statement that he long persecuted the Christian Church. It was not the inherent weakness of his intellect ; for his Epistles are a standing monument to his intellectual vigour. The only remaining solution of the problem is that which he himself has given us ; viz., that in the Gospel of Christ he had found the power of God unto salvation.

G. MATHESON.

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

III. THE TEXT.

WE shall now have obtained sufficient insight into the principles which the Revisers have followed in constructing the Greek text on which their Version has been based. It remains to form some estimate of the results to which their revision of the Text has led. And here again we will confine our examination to the Gospels as furnishing the most complex critical problems, and at the same time presenting a limited area within which the enquiry may be made fairly exhaustive. It will be necessary, however, first to supplement the list of readings already given from St. Matthew's Gospel by a selection of some of the principal readings from the other Gospels. The text of Drs. Westcott and Hort will still be taken as the standard of comparison, and the same plan will be pursued as in the last article.

Selected Readings from St. Mark's Gospel in which the Revisers' text agrees with that of Drs. Westcott and Hort.

2. Mark i. 2. "As it is written in the prophets." So A E, etc., Revisers (margin); "in Isaiah the prophet," **ⲛ B D L Δ**, Latin Versions, Version of Lower Egypt, Peshito Syriac, editors and Revisers (text). The quotation is really from Malachi iii. 1.
3. " i. 27. "What thing is this? What new doctrine is this? for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits," etc. "What is this? a new teaching," (= "doctrine")! with authority he commandeth even the unclean spirits," etc. **ⲛ B L**, editors and Revisers, (punctuating as Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort).

5. Mark ii. 26. "in the days of Abiathar the high priest." So A C Δ, etc., McClellan (translating "in the presence of A."), Revisers (margin); "in the high-priesthood of A." ✕ B L and other MSS., most editors, Revisers (text).
6. „ iii. 29. "is in danger of eternal damnation." "guilty of an eternal sin," ✕ B L Δ, editors, and Revisers.
7. „ iv. 24. "and unto you that hear shall more be given." So A E, etc., McClellan; omit "that hear," ✕ B C L Δ, other editors and Revisers.
8. „ v. 1. "country of the Gadarenes." So A C, etc.; "Gerasenes," ✕* B D, most editors, and Revisers; "Gergesenes," L Δ, Alford.
9. „ vi. 20. "when Herod heard John, he did many things (πολλὰ ἐποίει)." So A C D Δ, etc., Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); "was much perplexed" (πολλὰ ἠπόρει), ✕ B L, Tischendorf, Tregelles (margin), Scrivener, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
11. „ vii. 19. "goeth out into the draught, purging all meat." So K M and some others, McClellan; "goeth out into the draught? This he said, making all meats clean," ✕ A B, etc., all other editors, Scrivener, Revisers.
12. „ vii. 24. "went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon." So ✕ A B, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text); omit, "and Sidon," D L Δ, Alford, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (as alternative), Revisers (margin). Compare Matt. xv. 21.
13. „ vii. 31. "And again departing from the coasts" (= "borders,") "of Tyre and Sidon he came unto the sea of Galilee." "And again he went out from the borders of Tyre and came through Sidon unto the sea of Galilee." ✕ B D L Δ, editors and Revisers.
14. „ ix. 23. "Jesus saith unto him, if thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth." So D and

some other MSS., Alford (text), Lachmann, Tregelles, (margin); "Jesus said unto him, If thou canst!" (repeating the word just spoken by the father, but with a different application—that "If thou canst," is indeed the main point), "all things are possible," etc. \aleph A B C, etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.

15. Mark ix. 29. "This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting." So A C D L, etc., Alford (text), Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); omit "and fasting," \aleph^* B, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
16. ,, ix. 44, 46. "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched" (*bis*), also the last clause of ver. 45, "into the fire that never shall be quenched." Omit \aleph B C L Δ , Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers. Ver. 48 (= 44, 46) is however uncontested.
17. ,, ix. 47. "cast into hell fire." "Cast into hell," (Gehenna) omitting "fire," \aleph B D L Δ , editors and Revisers. Compare however ver. 43.
18. ,, ix. 49. "For every one shall be salted with fire, [and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt]." So A C D, etc., Latin and Syriac Versions, Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles (text), Weiss, Revisers (margin); omit bracketed clause, \aleph B L Δ , Tischendorf, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text).
21. ,, xi. 8. "And many spread their garments in the way: and others cut down branches off the trees and strawed them in the way." So A D, etc., Lachmann, McClellan; "and others branches," ("layer of leaves," margin, "litter," McClellan), "which they had cut from the fields." \aleph B L Δ , Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
22. ,, xi. 26. "But if ye do not forgive, neither will your

Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses." So A C D, etc., Alford, Lachmann, Weiss (text), Revisers (margin); omit whole verse, \aleph B L Δ , Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text). Compare Matt. vi. 15.

23. Mark xiii. 14. "the abomination of desolation, [spoken of by Daniel the prophet]." Omit bracketed words, \aleph B D L, most editors, and Revisers. Compare Matt. xxiv. 15.
25. .. xiv. 22. "Take, eat: this is my body." Omit "eat," \aleph A B C, etc., editors and Revisers.
26. .. xiv. 23. "And he took the cup." "a cup," \aleph B C D, etc., editors and Revisers.
27. .. xiv. 24. "This is my blood of the new testament," (or "covenant"). So A, etc., Lachmann, Revisers (margin); omit "new," \aleph B C D L, other editors and Revisers (text).
28. .. xiv. 27. "All ye shall be offended [because of me this night]." Omit bracketed words, \aleph B C* D, etc., most editors, and Revisers. Compare Matt. xxvi. 31.
30. .. xv. 28. "And the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors." Omit whole verse, \aleph A B C* D, editors and Revisers (text). See Luke xxii. 37.
31. .. xv. 39. "he so [cried out and] gave up the ghost." Omit bracketed words \aleph B L, most editors and Revisers.
32. .. xvi. 9-20. This section is found in A C D, etc., the Versions generally, and some Latin Fathers, and is accepted as genuine by McClellan and Scrivener. It is omitted in \aleph B, one MS. of Old Latin, and according to Eusebius in "accurate copies," a similar statement being made by Jerome and two others, but perhaps based on Eusebius. L has the section in another form. It is thought not to have been part of the original draft of the Gospel, by Alford, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and is printed with a break and marginal note in the Revised Version.

Select Readings from St. Luke's Gospel, in which the Revisers' Text agrees with that of Drs. Westcott and Hort.

1. Luke i. 28. "blessed art thou among women." So A C D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); omit, \aleph B L, Alford, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
2. ,, ii. 2. "this taxing was first made." So \aleph (third corrector) A C, etc.; "this was the first taxing," ("enrolment," Revisers), "made," \aleph (first corrector) B D, editors and Revisers.
3. ,, ii. 14. "peace, goodwill towards men." So correctors of \aleph B, L P, etc., McClellan, Scrivener, Tregelles (margin), Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin); "peace among men of good pleasure," \aleph^* A B^{*} D, Lachmann, Alford, Tischendorf, Weiss, Tregelles (text), Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text).
4. ,, ii. 38. "them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem." So A D, etc., Alford (text); "the redemption of Jerusalem," \aleph B Ξ , other editors, and Revisers.
7. ,, vi. 1. "on the second sabbath after the first." So A C D, etc., Lachmann (text), Alford (text), Tischendorf, McClellan, Scrivener, Revisers (margin); "on a sabbath," \aleph B L, Tregelles (text), Weiss (text), Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
8. ,, vi. 35. "lend, hoping for nothing again." So (but rendering "never despairing"), A B L, etc., most editors, and Revisers (text); "despairing of no man," \aleph Ξ , Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
9. ,, vi. 48. "for it was founded upon a rock." So A C D, etc., Lachmann, Scrivener, Revisers (margin); "because it had been well builded," \aleph B L Ξ , Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).

10. Luke viii. 26, 37. "country of the Gadarenes." So A, etc., Syriac Versions, Revisers (margin); "Gerasenes," B D (and C in ver. 37), Latin Versions, editors (except Tischendorf), and Revisers (text); "Gergesenes," \aleph L Ξ , Version of Lower Egypt, Tischendorf, Revisers (margin).
12. ,, ix. 10. "he . . . went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida." So (nearly) A C, etc., Lachmann; "to a city called Bethsaida," \aleph (corrector), B L Ξ , Egyptian Versions, most other editors, and Revisers; "to a desert place of Bethsaida," Latin Versions (approximately), and Peshito Syriac, McClellan.
13. ,, ix. 35. "This is my beloved Son." So A C, etc., Lachmann (text); "This is my Son, my chosen," \aleph B L Ξ , other editors, and Revisers.
14. ,, ix. 54, 56. "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, [even as Elias did?] But he turned and rebuked them, [and said, Ye know not what spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.]" The bracketed clauses are retained by McClellan and Revisers (margin) after Old Latin and some other authorities; they are omitted by \aleph B L Ξ , and other authorities in part, most editors, Revisers (text).
16. ,, x. 41. "thou art careful and troubled about many things." So \aleph B C, etc., editors and Revisers (text); "thou art troubled" (omitting the rest) D, (partly) Old Latin, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
18. ,, xi. 2. "Our Father which art in heaven." So A C D, etc., Lachmann, Revisers (margin); "Father," \aleph B L, Origen, most editors, Revisers (text).
19. ,, xi. 2. "Thy will be done, as in heaven so in earth." So \aleph A C D, etc., Lachmann (nearly), Revisers (margin); omit B L, Origen and other

- Fathers, most editors, and Revisers (text). See Matt. vi. 10.
20. Luke xi. 4. "but deliver us from evil." So A C D, etc., Lachmann, Revisers (margin); omit, \aleph^* B L, Origen and others, most editors, Revisers (text). See Matt. vi. 13.
23. ,, xvi. 9, "When ye fail." So \aleph (third corrector), Δ and a majority of MSS., Lachmann (margin), McClellan; "when it fails," \aleph^* A B L, and other MSS., most editors, and Revisers.
25. ,, xviii. 7. "shall not God avenge his own elect . . . though he bear long with them." "and he is long-suffering over them." \aleph A B D, etc., editors, and Revisers.
26. ,, xix. 45. "them that sold therein and them that bought." So A D, etc., Lachmann; "them that sold" (omitting the rest), \aleph B L, other editors, and Revisers.
27. ,, xxi. 19. "possess ye your souls." So (rather "win"), \aleph D L, etc., Tischendorf; "ye shall win," A B, other editors, and Revisers.
28. ,, xxii. 19, 20. "this is my body, [which is given for you . . . which is shed for you.]" So all MSS., except D, and all editors except Westcott and Hort, who doubly bracket after D, some forms of Old Latin, and (partially) Old Syriac, omission also noted by Revisers (margin).
29. ,, xxii. 43, 44. The Agony in the garden. Retained by \aleph^* D, etc., Syriac and Latin Versions, other Versions and many Fathers, most editors, and Revisers (text); omitted by \aleph (first corrector) A B, and two good MSS., some MSS. of Egyptian Versions, "many copies" known to Hilary, and others known to Epiphanius and Jerome; bracketed by Lachmann, Weiss, and doubly by Westcott and Hort.
30. ,, xxii. 68. "ye will not answer [me, nor let me go]." So A D, etc., Alford (text), Lachmann, Tregelles (text),

McClellan; omit \aleph B L, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.

31. Luke xxiii. 15. "no, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him." So A D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan; "for he sent him back unto us." \aleph B L and some others, Tischendorf, Tregelles (margin), Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
32. .. xxiii. 17. "For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast." So \aleph Δ , etc., Alford (text), Lachmann (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); omit, A B L and some others, Tischendorf, Tregelles (text), Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text). Compare Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6.
33. ,, xxiii. 34. "then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." So \aleph A C, etc., most Versions, Alford, Lachmann (text), Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Scrivener, Revisers (text); omit, B D, some forms of Old Latin, Version of Upper Egypt, Weiss (text); Westcott and Hort doubly bracket; omission noted in margin of Revised Version.
34. ,, xxiii. 35. "let him save himself if he be Christ, the chosen of God." So reads A C, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan; "the Christ of God, his chosen," \aleph B L, Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles (margin), Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
35. ,, xxiii. 38. "in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew." So \aleph^* A D, etc., Alford (text), Lachmann (text), McClellan; omit B C* L, Tischendorf, Tregelles (text), Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers. Compare Matt. xxvii. 37, etc.
36. ,, xxiii. 42. "and he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me," etc. So \aleph (corrector) A, etc., Lachmann, McClellan; "and he said, Jesus, remember me," etc., \aleph^* B C* L, other editors, and Revisers.
38. ,, xxiii. 45. "and the sun was darkened." So A D, etc., Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (margin); "the sun's light failing," \aleph B C* L, MSS. known to Origen, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers.

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| 39. | Luke xxiv. 3. | body] "of the Lord
Jesus." ¹ | } Omitted by D, old
Latin, Revisers (margin),
Westcott and Hort
doubly bracket. |
| 40. | „ xxiv. 6. | "He is not here
but is risen." | |
| 41. | „ xxiv. 9. | returned] "from
the sepulchre." | |
| 42. | „ xxiv. 12. | whole verse. | } Omitted by D,
Old Latin, Tischendorf,
Weiss, Revisers
(margin); Westcott
and Hort doubly
bracket. |
| 43. | „ xxiv. 36. | "and said unto them,
Peace be unto you." | |
| 44. | „ xxiv. 40. | whole verse. | |
| 45. | „ xxiv. 42. | "and of a honeycomb." | |
| 46. | „ xxiv. 51. | "and carried up to
heaven" (also omitted by \aleph). | |
| 47. | „ xxiv. 52. | "worshipped him,
and." | |
| 48. | „ xxiv. 17. | "as ye walk and are sad." So most MSS.
and Versions, Lachmann, Tregelles (margin), McClellan;
"and they stood still looking sad," \aleph A* (apparently),
B, Alford (text), Tischendorf, Tregelles (text), Weiss,
Westcott and Hort, Revisers. | |

Select Readings from St. John's Gospel in which the Revisers' Text agrees with that of Drs. Westcott and Hort.

4. John i. 28.² "these things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan." So corrector of C and other MSS., Revisers (margin); "Betharabah," fourth corrector of \aleph and Origen (according to some codices), also Revisers (margin); "Bethany beyond Jordan," \aleph * A B C*, etc., editors, and Revisers (text).
5. „ i. 42. "Simon the son of Jona." So A, etc., McClellan; "John" \aleph B* L, Alford, Lachmann (text), Tischendorf, Tregelles (text), Westcott and Hort, Revisers. Compare

¹ Instances like this and the following, as also Nos. 28, 29, 33, might with more strictness be reckoned as cases of difference between the text of the Revisers and that of Drs. Westcott and Hort. See the last number, p. 251.

² For St. John's Gospel the readings of Weiss have not been collated.

Matt. xvi. 17, where the reading is "Jonah;" but see at the same time Lightfoot, *On Revision*, p. 159.

6. John i. 51. "Hereafter" (rather "Henceforward") "ye shall see heaven opened," etc. So A \aleph , etc., McClellan; omit "hereafter" \aleph B L, other editors, Revisers.
8. „ iii. 31. "he that cometh from heaven is above all. And what he hath seen and heard that he testifieth." So A B L, etc., Lachmann (text), Tregelles (nearly), McClellan, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text); "he that cometh from heaven testifieth what he hath seen and heard." \aleph D, Old Latin, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
9. „ iv. 9. "for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." So most MSS., Versions, and editors, Revisers (text); omit, \aleph D, some MSS. of Old Latin, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
10. „ v. 1. "After this there was a feast of the Jews." So A B D and many other MSS., Lachmann, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text); the feast (*i.e.*, the Feast of Tabernacles), \aleph C and many others, Tischendorf, Revisers (margin).
12. „ v. 3, 4. Moving of the waters. This account is retained by E F, etc., (also A D in part), Latin Versions, and Peshito Syriac, Tertullian and other Fathers, Lachmann (partially), McClellan, Revisers (margin); it is omitted by \aleph B C* (also A D in part), Old Syriac and Egyptian Versions (most MSS. of Memphitic), Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
13. „ vi. 51. "the bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." So Γ Δ , etc., McClellan; "which I will give for the life of the world, is my flesh," \aleph , Tischendorf; "is my flesh for the life of the world," (omitting the second "I will give"), A B C L, Lachmann, Alford, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
14. „ vi. 69. "we believe, and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." So Γ Δ , etc.,

- McClellan; the "Holy One of God," \aleph B C* D L, other editors, and Revisers.
15. John vi. 71. "Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon." So Γ Δ , etc., McClellan; "the son of Simon, Iscariot," \aleph (corrector), B C L, other editors, and Revisers.
16. ,, vii. 8. "I go not up yet unto this feast." So B L T X, Peshito Syriac, and Version of Upper Egypt, Lachmann, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (text); "I go not up," \aleph D and some others, Latin Versions, Old Syriac, Version of Lower Egypt, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Scrivener, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
17. ,, vii. 39. "the Holy Ghost was not yet given" (last word not expressed in the Greek); similarly, though with some variation B D L Δ , Alford (text), Tregelles (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); "the Spirit was not yet given" (last word unexpressed), \aleph and three others, Latin and Egyptian Versions (approximately), Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (text).
18. ,, vii. 53—viii. 11. Section of the Adulteress. Retained by D F G, etc., Alford (text), McClellan; omitted by \aleph B T X, also (by inference), A C L Δ , Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort; inserted within spaces and brackets by Revisers.
19. ,, viii. 59. "but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, [going through the midst of them, and so passed by]." Omit bracketed clause \aleph B D, Latin Versions and Vers. of Upper Egypt, editors, and Revisers (text).
22. ,, xii. 7. "Let her alone: against the day of my burying hath she done this." "Suffer her to keep it against the day of my burying." \aleph B D L and others, editors, and Revisers.

23. John xii. 41. "These things said Esaias when he saw his glory." "because he saw," etc., **8** A B and others, editors and Revisers.
24. „ xiii. 2. "supper being ended." So A D, etc., Alford, Lachmann, McClellan; "during supper" (a change of only one letter in the Greek), **8*** B L X. Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
25. „ xiv. 4. "whither I go ye know, and the way ye know." So A D, etc., Lachmann (text), McClellan, Revisers (margin); "whither I go, ye know the way," B C **8*** L, Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
26. „ xiv. 10. "the Father that dwelleth in me he doeth the works." So A G, etc., Lachmann, McClellan; "the Father abiding" (so B L, Westcott and Hort, and Revisers) "in me doeth his works," **8** B D, Alford, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers.
28. „ xvii. 11, 12. "Keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me . . . I kept them in thy name: those that thou gavest me I have kept." "Keep them in thy name which" (*i.e.* the name) "thou hast given me . . . I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me; and I guarded them," B C* L (and **8** partially), most editors, Revisers.
29. „ xviii. 1. "Over the brook Cedron." So A and some others; similarly (or "of the cedar"), **8*** D, Old Latin and Egyptian Versions, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (margin); similarly (or "of the cedars"), B C L, etc., Alford, Tregelles (text), Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers.
31. „ xx. 16. "she turned herself and saith unto him, Rabboni." "saith unto him in Hebrew, Rabboni." **8** B D, and others, editors, and Revisers.

Selected Readings from the Gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, in which the Revisers' Text differs from that of Drs. Westcott and Hort.

1. Mark i. 1. "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." So most MSS. and editors, Revisers (text); omit "the Son of God," \aleph^* , Irenæus (apparently), Origen, and some other Fathers, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
4. „ i. 34. "because they" (*i.e.*, the devils or demons) "knew him." So \aleph A D, etc., most editors, Revisers (text); "knew him to be the Christ," B C L, and some others, Westcott and Hort (text); Revisers (margin).
10. „ vi. 22. "And when the daughter of the said Herodias." So (rather "the daughter of Herodias herself"), A C, etc., most editors and Revisers (text); "his daughter Herodias," \aleph B L Δ , Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin). Note that Josephus calls the daughter of Herodias Salome.
19. „ x. 7. "shall a man leave his father and mother [and cleave unto his wife]." So A C D L Δ , etc., Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles (text), Revisers (text); omit bracketed words, \aleph B, Tischendorf, McClellan, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin). Compare Matt. xix. 5.
20. „ x. 24. "how hard is it [for them that trust in riches] to enter into the kingdom of God." So A C D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), Alford, Revisers (text); omit \aleph B Δ , Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin). See however ver. 23.
24. „ xiii. 33. "watch and pray." So \aleph A C, etc., and Tregelles (text), Revisers (text); omit "and pray," B D, other editors, and Revisers (margin). Note that "and pray" is not found in the parallel passage in St. Matthew; but compare Mark xiv. 38.
29. „ xiv. 68. "and the cock crew." So A C D, etc., Lach-

- mann (text). Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers (text): omit \aleph B D, Weiss (text), Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
5. Luke iv. 44. "And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee." So A D, etc., Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text); for "Galilee" read "Judæa," \aleph B C L and some others, Alford, Tregelles (margin), Weiss, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
6. .. ix. 2. "heal the sick." So \aleph A D, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles (text), McClellan, Revisers (text); omit "the sick." B. Old Syriac, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
11. .. viii. 43, 45. Omissions in narrative of woman with issue of blood, supported by B alone of MSS., Tregelles (margin), Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
15. .. x. 1. "the Lord appointed other seventy also." So \aleph A C L, etc., Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, McClellan, Weiss (text), Revisers (text); "seventy and two," B D and two others, Lachmann (text), Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
17. .. x. 42. "but one thing is needful." So A C Δ , etc., most editors, Revisers (text); "few things are needful or one," \aleph B L, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
21. .. xiv. 5. "Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the sabbath day." So \aleph K L and some other authorities, Scrivener, Revisers (text); for "an ass" read "a son," A B E, etc., most editors, and Revisers (margin). Compare Luke xiii. 15.
22. .. xv. 21. "I am not worthy to be called thy son." So, without addition, A L, etc., most Versions and Augustine expressly, most editors, Revisers (text); add (as in ver. 19) "make me as one of

thy hired servants," \aleph B D and some others, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).

24. Luke xvi. 12. "who shall give you that which is your own." So \aleph A D, etc., most editors, Revisers (text); "our own," B L, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).

47. ,, xxiii. 42. "when thou comest into thy kingdom." So B L, Lachmann and Tregelles (margin), Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin); "in thy kingdom," \aleph A C, etc., Lachmann (text), Tischendorf, Tregelles (text), Revisers (text).

1 John i. 3. "without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life," etc. So C (second corrector), E, etc., Vulgate, Version of Lower Egypt, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Jerome and others, Tischendorf, McClellan, Revisers (text); "without him was not anything made. That which hath been made was life in him," etc., A C* D L and a few others, Old Latin and Old Syriac, Version of Upper Egypt, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus and many others, Lachmann, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin). In the oldest MSS. the passage is not punctuated.

2. ,, i. 15. "this was he of whom I said." So later correctors of \aleph B, D L, etc., most editors, and Revisers (text); "this was he that said" (as parenthesis) first corrector of \aleph , B* C*, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).

3. ,, i. 18. "the only begotten Son . . . hath declared him." So A X, etc., Latin Versions, Old Syriac, Eusebius, Athanasius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom and others, Lachmann (text), Tischendorf, Alford, McClellan, Scrivener, Revisers (text); "God only begotten," \aleph B C* L, Version of Lower Egypt and Peshito Syriac, Valentinian

Gnostics (circa 170), Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Basil, Didymus, and some others, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).

7. John iii. 13. "no man hath ascended up to heaven, but . . . the Son of man [which is in heaven]." So A, etc., most editors, and Revisers; omit bracketed words \aleph B L and one other, Westcott and Hort.
11. .. v. 2. "Bethesda." So A C, etc, Tregelles, McClellan, Revisers. (text): "Bethzatha," \aleph L, and some forms of Old Latin. Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin); "Bethsaida," B, Vulgate and Egyptian Versions, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (margin).
20. .. ix. 35. "Dost thou believe on the Son of God." So A X, etc., Lachmann, Tregelles, Alford, McClellan, Revisers (text); "Son of man," \aleph B D, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
21. .. x. 22. "And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the Dedication," etc. So \aleph A D, etc., most editors, Revisers (text); for "And," read "At that time," B L, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
22. .. x. 29. "My Father which gave them me is greater than all." So A X etc., Lachmann, McClellan, Westcott and Hort (margin), Revisers (text). "That which my Father hath given unto me is greater than all," \aleph B* L, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).
27. .. xv. 8. "Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, and so shall ye be my disciples." So \aleph A E, etc., Tischendorf, McClellan, Revisers (text); "that ye bear much fruit and be my disciples," B D L and some others, Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Revisers (margin).
30. .. xix. 39. "brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes." So ($\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha$) most MSS. and Editors, Revisers (text); "a roll" ($\epsilon\lambda\iota\gamma\mu\alpha$), \aleph * B, Westcott and Hort (text), Revisers (margin).

Before proceeding to sum up the results of the data thus

collected, I may stay for a moment to point out that if any one should care to prosecute further such a comparison as that which was instituted in the last article into the relation of the Revisers' text to that of Drs. Westcott and Hort and to the original authorities, he will find perhaps the most instructive examples in the following numbers, Mark 1, 4, 10; Luke 16, 22, 24, 29, 33, 39-41, 42-48; John 2, 3, 7, 11, 16, 21, 31.

As the space at my disposal is limited, and with the same object of permitting any one who may care to do so to work out the subject more in detail for himself, I will now roughly classify the readings noted according to the kind of question that is raised or affected by them.

The following instances have a bearing on what is commonly called the *Higher Criticism*, the inspiration, the historical accuracy, and so far as it depends on this, the genuineness of the Gospel narratives or the sources from which they are derived: Matt. 5; Mark 2, 5, 10, 29; Luke 2, 5, 38; John 4, 5.

The following readings affect or have been affected or supposed to be affected by considerations of *Dogma*: Matt. 5, 16, 98, 119, 120, 121, 156; Mark 1, 4, 6, 11, 16, 17; Luke 1; John 3, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19.

The following bear traces of influence from *Ecclesiastical Practice*: Matt. 27, 106, 195; Mark 15, and possibly 24.

The following affect the *Appellations* either of our Lord Himself or of the other Divine Persons, the angels, or sacred things: Matt. 4, 75, 98, 99, [110], [113], [126], [138], 143, [168], [171], 184, 193; Mark 1, 4; Luke 13, 34, 36; John 14, [17]. The bracketed numbers are those which do not relate to our Lord.

Proper Names, (e.g. those of the Apostles) are affected by Matt. 2, 3, 52, 53, 66, 181, 190; John 5, 15.

Questions of *Chronology* are raised in Luke 2, 6; John 10, 21, 24.

Questions of *Geography* occur in Matt. 42, 84, 93; Mark 8, 12, 13; Luke 5, 9, 11; John 4, 11, 30.

Some detail or other is affected in *Historical Narrative* under the numbers. Matt. 47, 51, 54, 79, 80, 82, 107, 116, 172, 175, 183, 185, 186; Mark 9, 10, 21, 25, 26, 29; Luke 4, 5, 23, 38; John 10, 29, 30.

Additions are made to the *Narrative* in Matt. 189; John 31.

Omissions are made, either in text or margin, from the *Narrative* as it has hitherto stood, in Matt. 8, 70, 169, 179, 187, 192, 194; Mark 31, 32; Luke 29, 32, 33, 25, 39-47.

Some change is made in *Narrative of Discourse*, (*a*) where *Jesus is speaking*, in Matt. 18, 21, 26, 30, 32, 33, 56, 59, 60, 63, 86, 97, 105, 136; Mark 5, 7, 14, 124; Luke 7, 21, 23, 25, 27; John 16, 23, 26, 27, 29; (*β*) where others are speaking, Matt. 37, 43, 49, 102, 103, 190; Mark 3; Luke 3, 31, 34, 36; John 2.

Words are *added* to *Narrative of Discourse* in Luke 22.

Words are *omitted* from *Narrative of Discourse*, in Matt. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 24, 27, 28, 48, 49 (disciples speaking), 68, 69, 71, 74, 87, 89, 94, 106, 108, 119, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 134, 144, 145, 146, 148, 150, 175, 178, 188 (populace speaking); Mark 19, 20, 27, 28; Luke 11, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 28, 30, 33; John 6, 7.

Besides other instances mentioned under previous heads, the *Parallelism* of the Gospels is affected in Matt. 17, 58, 108, 123, 128, 134, 144; Mark 19, 22, 28, 30; Luke 8, 26, 35; John 5.

The following may be taken as possible or probable instances of *Glosses* admitted into the text: Matt. 1, 13, 21, 24, 25, 68, 69, 71, 74, 83, 95, 143, 162, 165, 192, 194; Mark 18; Luke 32; John 7, 9, 12.

Note.—The larger proportion of instances from St. Matthew's Gospel is of course explained by the more

exhaustive examination which that Gospel underwent in the last paper.

In one of the earliest of the more elaborate criticisms called forth by the Revision, a somewhat vehement attack was made upon the Revisers for their alleged partiality in dealing with the text. They were accused of yielding to dogmatic prepossessions, and indeed (if the rhetorical language used was to be taken at all literally) of a deliberate and intentional perversion or suppression of the truth. One would have thought that a glance at the composition of the Committee—consisting as it did of men eminent not only for their station but for their services to theological science, and honoured far beyond the limits of these islands,—would have saved them from such imputations. But seldom was an accusation made which was more utterly without foundation in itself, or more directly opposed to the facts.

The examples given were two of those enumerated above ; one involving a question of criticism, and the other a question of dogma. In Luke ii. 2, the Revised rendering is: "This was the first enrolment made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria," where the old rendering was, "This taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria," and where it is suggested that we ought to read, "This, the first taxing, was made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." "What," it is asked, "induced two-thirds of the Revisers, at the least, to vote for this alteration of the received text and the received version, and its total suppression in the margin? Was it simply Tischendorf's authority? Certainly not. . . . It was in order to save the historical credit of the Evangelist. It was in order to suggest that this was the first enrolment (not taxation), under a previous governorship of Quirinius, of which enrolment history elsewhere contains no record,

whereas ten or fourteen years afterwards, when Quirinius was for the second time Governor of Syria (though it is more than doubtful whether he ever was so before), the *taxation* which history does record did take place.”¹ Whether there is really such a wide difference between the two readings, I shall not stay to enquire; it is enough to point out that the authorities for the revised reading, **Σ** (first corrector) B D, form a group to which the best editors attach the highest weight, and which the Revisers have followed elsewhere, while the other reading (*αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ* for *αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ*) presents just that kind of more obvious Greek construction, to which the emended text was most liable. There can be no question that the Revisers were determined in their choice of reading by purely objective considerations. The critic, however, thinks that he has made a discovery in regard to the original reading of the Codex Sinaiticus, which if it “is correct, is fatal to the reading of the Revisionists.” The reading of the first hand of the Sinaitic Codex is quoted by Tischendorf as *αὐτὴν ἀπογραφὴν*. This of course is ungrammatical, and it is suggested that the real reading was *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ ἡ πρώτη*—in the continuous uncial writing of the period the two letters H and X being easily confused. The suggestion is an ingenious one, and if it had been found to stand examination, I have no doubt that it would have been welcomed by every textual critic quite independently of any effect which it might have upon the sense. Unfortunately, however, it is necessary for this explanation to hold good, that the two words *ἀπογραφὴν* (or *ἀπογραφὴ ἡ*) and *πρώτη* should be in immediate juxtaposition. But this is not so. According to Tischendorf’s account of the reading, *ἐγένετο* is interposed between them. The whole theory thus breaks down much more “fatally” than the Revisers’ reading would have done even if it had held good;

¹ *The Modern Review*, July 1881 p. 614.

for the single reading of **N*** would not have turned the scale.

If the critic had extended his examination a little further, he would have found abundant evidence to shew that no desire "to save the credit" of the Evangelists had availed to turn the Revisers from the course which strictly scientific principle marked out for them. He would have observed that they now make St. Matthew's version of the instructions of the Apostles distinctly prohibit the use of "a staff" (Matt. 54), which St. Mark's version of the same instructions categorically permits. He would have observed that St. Mark is made to attribute to the prophet Isaiah a quotation which is really taken from the book of Malachi (Mark 2). He would have observed that (in the margin at least) St. Luke is made to place the scene of a part of our Lord's ministry in Judæa, where the parallel passages of the other Synoptic Gospels place it in Galilee (Luke 8); and that St. John is made to describe Peter as the "son of John," where the other Evangelists describe him as the "son of Jonah" (John 8). He would have observed that the Revisers accept the reading "Bethany beyond Jordan," in John i. 28, which it used to be the fashion to quote as a proof that the author of the Fourth Gospel was ignorant of the topography of Palestine. And he would have observed finally, that the remarkable reading noted in the margin of Mark x. 22, introduces not only one but a series of difficulties. According to this reading, the daughter of Herodias bore the same name as her mother; but Josephus mentions only a daughter of Herodias called "Salome." This is perhaps no great matter, as Herodias may have had one daughter of that name by her early marriage, and a second daughter since her connexion with Herod Antipas, called after herself. The further question would then be raised, whether this connexion can have lasted long enough for a daughter to have been born,

who at the time specified would have been of an age to dance before her parents. The question is an intricate one, and indeed involves little less than the whole chronology of the Gospels. Something was said upon the subject by Prof. Milligan, in the former series of this Magazine;¹ it has not, however, as yet been exhaustively treated, and will bear full and separate discussion. It will, I believe, be found upon examination both that the older view, that the daughter of Herodias was Salome, gives rise to considerable difficulties, and that the new reading, though it also has its difficulties, really affords the easier and better solution of the two.

Of the other points, one at least, "Bethany beyond Jordan," is no real "difficulty," in the sense of being any objection to the truth of the narrative; for the old allegation, that the writer of the Gospel did not know the true position of the Bethany which is elsewhere mentioned, is abundantly met by the precise statement of the Evangelist himself, that it was "nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off": it is also clear that the addition "beyond Jordan," was intended expressly to distinguish between the two places. The ignorance of Origen, whose knowledge of the topography of Palestine was not to be expected to be very minute,² and our own ignorance, would be quite insufficient arguments to prove that no such place existed. And Lieutenant Conder, the well known Palestine explorer, has recently proposed a solution which appears to be satisfactory, that "Bethania" here really stands for the district commonly called "Batanæa." I must be content at present to refer the reader to his arguments.³

The question as to the high-priesthood of Abiathar (Mark

¹ THE EXPOSITOR. First Series. Vol. vii. p. 133.

² See THE EXPOSITOR. First Series. Vol. xi. p. 250.

³ See *Journal of Palest. Explor. Fund*, Oct. 1877, p. 184 ff., and *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 319.

5) remains practically in the same position in which it was. The same person appears to be called in the Old Testament by three names, Ahiah (= Ahijah), Ahimelech, and Abiathar—most commonly Ahimelech. At the very utmost, though we were to suppose that there was an error in one or other of these passages, there are, in the present day, few to whom this would be a serious stumbling-block; but, as Mr. McClellan has noticed,¹ the practice of bearing double names, and more especially for the son to bear the name of his father, was not by any means an uncommon one, and seems to have prevailed particularly among the priests.

In regard to such other minor matters as the prohibition of “a staff” in St. Matthew, where it would seem to be permitted in St. Mark, and the apparent attribution to Isaiah of words spoken by Malachi, however these are to be explained (and those who need a precise explanation will find it in the commentaries—especially McClellan), they only present a problem with which we were already familiar in undisputed portions of the text as it stood before the Revision. In the very same verse and line of St. Matthew’s Gospel (Matt. x. 10) the Apostles are bidden not to wear “shoes” (*μηδὲ ὑποδήματα*), while in the corresponding passage of St. Mark’s Gospel (Mark vi. 9) they are allowed to “be shod with sandals” (*ἀλλὰ ὑποδεδεμένους σανδάλια*). And in another well known instance, Matt. xxvii. 9, a prophecy is ascribed to Jeremiah which is commonly supposed to be taken from Zechariah and to which at least the book of Zechariah presents the only extant parallel.²

There is, however, a real enigma in the reading which, in spite of its strong support, the Revisers have not ventured to adopt into the text of Luke iv. 44, “And he was preaching in the synagogues of Judæa.” The corresponding verse in

¹ *New Testament*, etc., vol. i. p. 672.

² Compare Westcott and Hort on the reading *Ἱερὰς* in Matt. xiii. 35, *N. T. in Greek*. Appendix, p. 12 f.

St. Mark, with precisely the same context, states that, "He went into their synagogues throughout all *Galilee*," and in Matt. iv. 23, which would seem also to correspond, we read that "Jesus went about in all *Galilee*, teaching in their synagogues." Here we are clearly brought in face of a problem which no translation could solve. If we could only accept the reading "Judæa" in St. Luke—and the marginal formula, "*Very* many ancient authorities," which is only used in the strongest cases, shews that the Revisers were fully sensible of its claims to acceptance—we should have, indeed, a seeming discrepancy with the other two Synoptists, but we should have at the same time a welcome allusion to that earlier Judæan ministry of which the more detailed account is confined entirely to St. John. The authority for the reading "Judæa" (Ⲙ B C L Q R—the last two fragmentary MSS. of considerable importance) appears to be overwhelming. And there are so many traces in St. Luke of some special source of information (which I have always been strongly tempted to connect with the group of "ministering women" mentioned in Chapter viii. 3), over and above the common material which he shared with one or both of the other Synoptists, that it would be not really strange if in this one word he managed to convey an indication of facts of which he alone possessed the knowledge. The statement in St. Matthew and St. Mark is of a vague character, and seems rather to mark a blank period at the beginning and end of which our Lord was exercising his ministry in Galilee, but as to the intermediate portion more precise information was wanting. I merely suggest this explanation as possible. The reading is evidently one which invites close attention.

Nor does the interest excited by it end with the historical fact. This, and the group of phenomena to which it belongs, raise afresh the largest, the deepest, and the most difficult of all the questions that come under the head of the

“Higher Criticism,” as applied to the first three Gospels. What is the origin of the common matter which runs through them? Was it an oral tradition? Or was it a written document? And, whether oral or written, what were its extent and limits? What did it contain and what did it not contain? On this question of the origin and character of the common matter of the Synoptic Gospels, the revised readings have a direct bearing. They tend very decidedly in one direction—to diminish the amount of close resemblance and to increase the amount of divergence. One of the commonest forms for corruption to take was the assimilation of parallel texts where the oldest authorities were found to differ. Hence in a work like Mr. Rushbrooke’s *Synopticon*, a very different result would have been obtained if the Received Text had been taken instead of one which represents a much nearer approach to the original autographs. The instances in which the parallelism of the Synoptic Gospels is affected are much more numerous than those which are given above under that head.

These are merely a few typical examples; others will be found under most of the remaining headings. And besides these, a number of minor instances have been left unrecorded. The result is not only to produce variations of phrase where previously there had been identity, to leave out in one Gospel important clauses which had hitherto been found in more than one—and this both in narrative and discourse; but in several instances the change that is made is of a more material kind and amounts almost to a discrepancy. We have had two examples of this. We have seen how according to St. Matthew the Apostles are forbidden to take a staff, where, according to St. Mark they are allowed to take one. We have seen how a series of events is placed by St. Matthew and St. Mark in Galilee, by St. Luke in Judæa. And there are other cases similar to this, which however had, it is true, some foundation in

the Old Version. The healing of the demoniac(s) is placed by the revised text of St. Matthew in the "country of the Gadarenes," by that of St. Mark in "the country of the Gerasenes," and by that of St. Luke also in "the country of the Gerasenes," but with two other readings, "Gergesenes" and "Gadarenes," also recognized in the margin. Whereas, after the feeding of the four thousand, according to St. Mark our Lord departed "into the parts of Dalmanutha," we now read in St. Matthew's Gospel that He went, not into the comparatively well known neighbourhood of "Magdala," with which Dalmanutha has in one way or another been identified—whether as the "broken gate" of the "tower" from which Magdala derived its name, or as the modern village of *Ain-el-Bārīdeh*, in the near vicinity—but "into the borders of" the unknown "Magadan." And the narrative of the feeding of the five thousand is also complicated by the new reading in Luke ix. 10, according to which we are told that Jesus "withdrew apart," not to "a desert place," as St. Matthew and St. Mark, nor yet to "a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida," as the Authorized Version, but simply "to a city called Bethsaida."¹

These phenomena had indeed all parallels in the older text: as, *e.g.* at the raising of Jairus' daughter, where St. Mark and St. Luke tell us only of the injunction that it was to be divulged to no one, and where St. Matthew tells us only that "the fame thereof went abroad into all that land" (compare Matt. ix. 26 with Mark v. 43, Luke viii. 56), or where the discourse about "taking up the cross" is described by St. Matthew as spoken to the "disciples" (Matt. xvi. 24), by St. Mark to "the people with his disciples" (Mark viii. 34), and by St. Luke "to all" (Luke ix.

¹ In reference to this reading see, after McClellan's note, Dr. Hort's beautiful demonstration, Introduction, p. 102. Few things could be more convincing than this analysis of "Conflate Readings," pp. 99-104, and the section on the "Use of Genealogy," pp. 54-56.

23)—though this indeed is not so much a “discrepancy” as a good example of the way in which St. Mark connects the narratives of the other two Evangelists—or in the account of the Transfiguration, which St. Matthew and St. Mark date “six” and St. Luke “eight days” after the last event (compare Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 28); or, in the miracle of the healing of the “blind man” at Jericho, which St. Matthew and St. Mark place at the departure from that city, and St. Luke at the approach to it (compare Matt. xx. 29; Mark x. 46; Luke xviii. 35).

The number of these exceptional phenomena, as well as the amount of current difference, is, without doubt, increased in the Revised Version. And this is done to such an extent as to throw a substantial weight into the scale of argument *against* the hypothesis that the common matter of the Synoptic Gospels lay before the writers of those Gospels in a written form. I do not say at once a *decisive* weight, because the problem is so complicated that it is dangerous to pronounce upon it on the strength of any one class of phenomena only, but the use of the Revised Text in any case affects the balance of argument appreciably. Those who maintain the affirmative of the proposition, that a common written document lies at the root of the first three Gospels, must be prepared to give an answer to the question, why the Evangelists in turn, especially St. Luke, introduced these changes?—changes not indeed considerable, but affecting the substance as well as the mere literary form of the narrative. To me, as it at present stands, such a question seems not easy to answer.

ADDENDUM.—I ought not to have omitted from the instances of agreement with Westcott and Hort the interesting reading in John iii. 25, “a Jew” for “the Jews,”
 ⚭ (third corrector) A B L, editors and Revisers.

W. SANDAY.

BRIEF NOTICES.

THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD. By *William Milligan, D.D.* (London: Macmillan & Co.) Professor Milligan was singularly happy in the choice of his subject for the Croll Lecture. While the more negative criticism has been greatly exercised over the Resurrection of Christ, the more positive criticism has been too little concerned with it. And this neglect has been not simply as regards its critical and historical aspects and worth, but also as regards its constructive and theological significance. Yet, without the Resurrection, positive thought can as little build a Christian theology as construct a history of the Church in its primitive and creative period. Dr. Milligan has seen what was needed, and has endeavoured to supply it. His lectures are at once critical and theological, three being occupied with critical and historical questions, and three with doctrinal. He well sees that these questions are so related that a critical vindication of the fact is incomplete, and, indeed, insignificant without its theological interpretation; and it is not too much to say that it is in their attempt at the latter that the real importance of these Lectures lies. The critical matter is, indeed, most valuable. The position of Baur, the critical theories of Strauss, Holsten, and Renan, are most exhaustively analysed, judiciously examined and tested by the histories of the event; and, in the process, many historical and exegetical points are admirably handled and elucidated. Every student of these matters will be grateful to Dr. Milligan for the incisive criticism of Lectures II. and III., with the related notes. But the most suggestive discussions are contained in the other Lectures. We commend, in the first, the discussion as to the nature of our Lord's resurrection body, with the rich exegesis of texts in Note 15. This latter is important because of the light it sheds on the vexed question as to the nature of relations of the *πνεῦμα* and the *σάρξ*, though we are by no means sure that texts that relate to the *exalted* are applicable to the *risen* Christ. In Lecture IV. the Resurrection is discussed in its relation to the person and work of Christ, the most suggestive being the Section on the sacrifice and priesthood, with the long and elaborate Note 53. We are, indeed, inclined to differ radically in some respects from Dr. Milligan. The priesthood was not the "fundamental office which our Lord came into the world to discharge." It was never claimed by Him,

or ascribed to Him while He lived on earth. It belongs not to his state of humiliation, but to his state of exaltation. He was, in the first, a sacrifice; but, in the second, and through his resurrection, He became our great High Priest. While the Mosaic sacrifices are typical of Christ's, the typical priesthood is not the Levitical, but the Melchizedekian; and He enters on it as the Son of God established or constituted in power by the resurrection from the dead. In Lectures V. and VI. Dr. Milligan discusses the Resurrection in its relation to Christian life and the Church respectively, and so brings out its permanent worth and meaning alike for the individual and the society. In the latter, especially, the fine catholic spirit of the writer comes out. His heart is evidently sick of the narrow and divisive ecclesiasticism which has so long and so disastrously reigned in North as in South Britain, and his face is turned towards a large and generous unity. But a visible need not be an ecclesiastical unity; the sort of living and unorganized unity which enabled men so diverse as Peter and Paul, James and John, to be at once Apostles of the Lord, citizens of his kingdom, ministers of his church and teachers of his people, is the only sort of unity that was primitive and can be permanent, expressing as it does the variety of the forms in which the Spirit of the risen Lord works and is manifested. We desire, in conclusion, to thank Dr. Milligan for his volume. It is full of ripe scholarship, rich Christian experience, fine and mature thought, and proceeds from a spirit that is as enlightened and critical as it is reverent and robust.

A. M. F.

FOOTPRINTS: SERMONS ON SCRIPTURE CHARACTERS. By *Rev. Hartley Carmichael, B.A.* (London: Williams & Norgate.) These Sermons are full of faults and blemishes—faults of immaturity and of an over-eager spirit which “drinks up the way” in which it travels. Nevertheless, there is true power in them, power of insight and power of expression. They strike the right tone too, and are set in the right key. And if the writer of them be, as I suspect, quite a young man, his faults are those proper to his age, while his power is his own; and, despite his faults, he may yet go far and do much, if he will but put himself to the best uses.

S. C.

35

THE REVISED NEW TESTAMENT.

III. THE TEXT.

THE second of the two readings on which the charge of partiality brought against the Revisers was based, belongs to the class that may be called dogmatic. "They the Revisers introduce *υἱοῦ Θεοῦ*, in Mark i. 1, into the text, against Tischendorf's quite unanswerable arguments, and only remark in the margin: 'Some ancient authorities omit *the Son of God*.' I should think so. The interpolation of the words in the Sinaitic MS., and their omission in numerous Fathers from Irenæus onwards, who make a point of the brevity with which the Evangelist passes from 'the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ' to the following words, 'as it is written,' leave no doubt as to their being a later addition. Besides, as Tischendorf well points out, a *pietas male sedula* would be likely enough to introduce them, and even a *modica fides* unlikely to leave them out."¹ The severest punishment that I should wish for the author of this criticism would be that he should read through Dr. Hort's Introduction and Appendix. He will, indeed, find to his satisfaction that Dr. Hort also decides for the omission of the words, though adding that "neither reading can be safely rejected;" but he will at the same time learn a little of what textual criticism really is, and he will be confronted with the work of two at least of those whom with such "light heart" he has been accusing. I am not sure,

¹ *The Modern Review*, July, 1881, p. 616.

too, that in other ways he may not be led to see that there are more things in heaven and earth than his facile philosophy has hitherto dreamt of.

The same reading has, as it happens, been criticised from a different quarter, and to an opposite effect. Archdeacon Norris, if I remember rightly, objected that the omission of the words in question was too weakly attested to deserve even a marginal note. Does not this shew that the Revisers have really hit the reasonable mean? It would have been almost impossible for them to place the reading in their text, with the reluctance which they have everywhere shewn to accept the authority of a single uncial. The reading is one which only critics with such imperfect apprehension of principle as Tischendorf, or with such consummate experience in dealing with exceptional cases as Drs. Westcott and Hort, would venture to adopt. But I should be tempted to ask whether even they have allowed quite enough for the tendency in the Fathers to compendious quotation. The evidence of Irenæus seems to me to be very precarious, especially considering that in two places out of three he undoubtedly has the words. I very much suspect that posterity will ratify the judgment of the Revisers. In any case it is clear that they were not influenced by bias. For, if they have accepted a certain number of readings which either heighten or maintain at the same level as before the supernatural element in the Gospels, they have accepted quite as many by which that element may seem to be lowered. I am speaking now of the Gospels, though in the other books I believe that the balance would be found to be substantially the same. There will probably be about an equal number of instances on each side. It is true that the Revisers have banished the word "firstborn" from Matthew i. 25, "till she brought forth her firstborn son," where some have supposed that the omission was due to the wish to avoid the suggestion

that Mary was the mother of other children. The hypothesis, however, lies just as near that the common text is an assimilation to the parallel passage Luke ii. 7, "and she brought forth her firstborn son," where the word "first-born" is unquestioned. And the scale is decisively turned by the fact that the authorities for omission in St. Matthew (8 B Z) represent a text which was in existence long before any controversy arose as to the perpetual virginity of Mary. Nor does it only represent this. The same group of authorities with rare, if, indeed, with any, exceptions over the space which the mutilated Dublin MS. covers, mark the line of genuine transmission. So long, however, as the word is left standing in the text of St. Luke (and this it must needs be), the question of doctrine is not really affected. The same applies to the reading, "Why askest thou me concerning the good?" for "Why callest thou me good?" in Matthew xix. 17. The parallels in the other Gospels (Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19) are left unchanged, so that the question concerns the exegesis of St. Matthew's Gospel alone. In John vii. 8 the Revisers have adopted what may be called the "apologetic" reading: "I go not up yet unto this feast," *i.e.*, the Feast of Tabernacles to which our Lord is said to have subsequently gone up. As far back as Porphyry, the heathen assailant of Christianity in the third century A.D., the other reading "I go not up," has been open to the sneers of carping critics. "Porphyry barks," says Jerome, "and accuses of vacillation and change of purpose." It is, indeed, strange how the very same Gospel brings together and places almost side by side the expressions which indicate the highest divinity and the traits which depict the truest humanity. He who is "God," "the Only-begotten," "in the bosom of the Father," at the same time hungers, and thirsts, and weeps, and groans, or is "moved with indignation," and his soul is "troubled," or shaken with deep emotion. If the external evidence had

compelled us to accept the reading "I go not up" (and if it had done so there can be no question that the Revisers would have admitted it without hesitation), it would still mean no more than "I am not going up" with this caravan. The Greek would by no means exclude different action in the future. "Perhaps, however," as Dr. Westcott says, "it is better to give a fuller force to the 'going up,' and to suppose that the thought of the next paschal journey, when the 'time was fulfilled,' already shapes the words. The true reading 'not yet' (followed by A. V.), and also the exact phrase 'this feast,' give force to this interpretation." In that case the meaning will be, "This is not" [or "is not yet"] "*the Anabasis*—that great going up—to which I am looking forward." Dr. Westcott speaks with authority on the subject of the reading, which he does not discuss more explicitly. The authorities are: for "not," \aleph D K M II; for "not yet," B L T X Δ and others. Of these the latter combination is the more trustworthy. The former would represent a Western reading introduced at an early date, and in its origin probably nothing more than an instance of careless copying.

These may be quoted as instances in which the Revisers have adopted readings which favour the apologetic or high dogmatic view; but there are others which have a reverse tendency. One of the most conspicuous of these is the reading in Matthew xxiv. 36, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven," where the Revisers insert in their text "neither the Son," after \aleph^* B D, Old Latin and other Versions, and several Fathers. Here, again, the words are unquestioned in Mark xiii. 32. Dr. Hort remarks on their omission in St. Matthew: "The words must have been absent from many of the current texts of Matthew by the beginning of Cent. IV.; but the documentary evidence in their favour is overwhelming. Although assimilation to Mark would account for their

presence if the attestation were unsatisfactory, their omission can be no less easily explained by the doctrinal difficulty which they seemed to contain. The corruption was more like to arise in the most freely used Gospel than in Mark, and having once arisen it could not fail to be readily welcomed."¹ It is curious to observe how exactly this reading seems to invert the conditions of the reading which omits "firstborn" in Matthew i. 25. In each case internal considerations are balanced—dogmatic prepossessions against the tendency to assimilate parallel texts—and in each case the scale is turned by the weight and character of the external evidence. Another reading still more important is John i. 18, where the Revisers have retained "the only begotten Son," as in the Old Version, noting in the margin that "many very ancient authorities read *God only begotten*." If any instance was to be given of partiality on the part of the Revisers, this was the one; for here they have clearly departed from the principles by which they have been guided elsewhere. But, if so, the partiality is not on the side on which it has been alleged to be. It is not in favour of Trinitarian doctrine, but against it. I shall not, however, for a moment accuse them of partiality of any kind. I am convinced that their work has been done in perfect good faith. It was no prepossession which induced them to resist the very preponderant weight of the external evidence—a preponderance of which the marginal note shews them to have been conscious. It was not this but the apparent strangeness of the phrase which proved a stumbling-block in the way. When scholars like the Dean of Peterborough declare their invincible repugnance to the reading of the oldest MSS., it is not surprising that a two-thirds majority could not be obtained for it. And yet the reading is not really so strange and unexampled as it looks. "Though startling at first," it "simply combines in a single

¹ *N. T. in Greek*. Appendix, p. 17 f.

phrase the two attributes of the Logos marked before (*Θεός*, ver. 1; *μονογενής*, ver. 14): its sense is 'One who was both *Θεός* and *μονογενής*.'¹ This seems, to me, to be a sufficient defence of the reading, and to allow the external evidence to come into play. If we follow this (though the common reading has also a high antiquity), there can be little doubt that we are on the line of genuine transmission. The marginal reading here, with the reading "his daughter Herodias," in Mark vi. 22, may be paired together as instances in which intrinsic difficulties have led to the rejection of readings which would otherwise have been accepted.

In a different category must be placed the two readings John 11, and 19, though their tendency is similar—to give less prominence to the supernatural. The exclusion of the passage which describes the moving of the waters of Bethesda by angelic agency, and of the words which heighten the miraculous effect of the withdrawal of Jesus from the assault made upon Him in the temple, rests in each case upon strictly objective grounds. The evidence demands it, and the Revisers had no choice in the matter.

Passing to another class of readings, where no one will suspect the Revisers of bias, we may note that the two (Matt. 16, 119) which seem to have a bearing upon the guilt of adultery, are really nothing more than rather intricate and doubtful cases of assimilation of parallel passages, and their interest is almost purely text-critical. Those, however, who are interested in the momentous, if insoluble, question of the eternity of punishment, will be glad to know that in more than one instance the stern language of St. Mark's Gospel receives an appreciable mitigation. In Mark iii. 29, for the Old Version, "is in danger of eternal damnation," we now read on unquestionable authority, and with the consent of all the editors, "is guilty

¹ *N. T. in Greek*, p. 74.

of an eternal sin"—an enigmatical expression which at least shifts the ground from the retributive Divine justice to the conscience of the sinner. Twice over, too, in the verses Mark ix. 44-46, the terrible sentence, "where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched," is omitted on authority equally unquestionable. And the briefer clause, "into the fire that never shall be quenched," is also omitted in Verse 45. It is, however, rather the stern reiterating of the doom, than the doom itself, that disappears, for the impugned clauses remain standing in Verses 43 and 48.

A more complete removal of imported matter is effected in the place in which prayer is combined with fasting. Not only is the whole verse omitted, "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," Matthew xvii. 21, but in the parallel passage in St. Mark (ix. 29) the words "and fasting" are relegated to the margin; and in 1 Corinthians vii. 5, the Revisers read "that ye may give yourselves unto prayer," without any addition. This is, I believe, a complete excision of the passages where fasting is directly inculcated, though it is frequently assumed as a Christian practice. The insertion seems to have been made in the text of St. Mark first, in that of St. Matthew subsequently, and at an altogether later date in the Epistle to the Corinthians.

On the whole subject of dogmatic influence on the text of the Greek Testament, there is an interesting and important passage in Dr. Hort's *Introduction*.¹ "It will not be out of place to add here a distinct expression of our belief that even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament *there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes*. The licence of paraphrase occasionally assumes the appearance of wilful corruption. . . . But readings answering to this descrip-

tion cannot be judged rightly without taking into account the general characteristics of other readings exhibited by the same or allied documents. The comparison leaves little room for doubt that they belong to an extreme type of paraphrastic alteration, and are not essentially different from readings which betray an equally lax conception of transcription, and yet are transparently guiltless of any fraudulent intention. In a word, they bear witness to rashness, not to bad faith. *It is true that dogmatic preferences to a great extent determined theologians, and probably scribes, in their choice between rival readings already in existence.* Scientific criticism was virtually unknown, and in its absence the temptation was strong to believe and assert that a reading used by theological opponents had also been invented by them. Accusations of wilful tampering with the text are accordingly not infrequent in Christian antiquity; but, with a single exception, wherever they can be verified they prove to be groundless, being in fact hasty and unjust inferences from mere diversities of inherited text. The one known exception is the case of Marcion's dogmatic mutilation of the books accepted by him; and his was, strictly speaking, an adaptation for the use of his followers; nor had it apparently any influence outside the sect. Other readings of his, which he was equally accused of introducing, belonged manifestly to the texts of the copies which came into his hands, and had no exceptional character or origin. The evidence which has recently come to light as to his disciple Tatian's Diatessaron, has shewn that Tatian habitually abridged the language of the passages which he combined; so that the very few known omissions which might be referred to a dogmatic purpose, can as easily receive another explanation. The absence of perceptible fraud in the origination of any of the various readings now extant, may, we believe, be maintained with equal confidence for the text antecedent to the earliest extant variations, in

other words, for the purest transmitted text. . . . *The books of the New Testament, as preserved in extant documents, assuredly speak to us in every important respect in language identical with that in which they spoke to those for whom they were originally written.*" These reassuring words derive additional weight at once from the writer's unrivalled knowledge of early Christian literature, and from his rigorously scientific method, a method no less rigorously scientific than that of a Helmholtz or a Darwin.

I must hurry on over the intervening subjects, merely noticing in passing how (under the head *Appellations*) the Revised Version frequently strikes out reverential titles and adjuncts which had been interpolated into the simpler text: how (under the head *Names*) Lebbæus is now banished for "Thaddæus," "Simon the Canaanite" for "Simon the Cananite," *i.e.*, Zealot, Peter is described alternately as the "son of Jonah" and the "son of John," and the father of Judas the traitor himself also set down as a native of Kerieth, implying that the family had settled there for at least two generations; how (under the head *Chronology*) the perplexing "second-first sabbath" of Luke vi. 1, is simply eliminated as probably a marginal calculation that had got admitted into the text, while two new notes of time are given in St. John (John 21 marginal reading, and 24), and the unnamed "feast" of John v. 1, is still left open instead of being tied down, as Tischendorf would tie it down, to the Feast of Tabernacles; how again (under the head *Geography*), in addition to points already noticed, a new direction is given to the circuit which was signalized by the healing of the Syro-Phœnician woman's daughter, making it appear that our Lord turned northwards "through Sidon" and so arrived at the sea of Galilee from the north-east (by Cæsarea Philippi?), and how a play on words is introduced with perhaps a more definite

topographical allusion in the name "brook or watertorrent of the cedars," for "brook Kidron." I must hurry over all these and come to the *omissions* and *changes* in the historical narrative. Especially the former; for it is here that the problems of textual criticism present themselves most conspicuously and most forcibly. I shall not, however, debate again such much controverted subjects as the omission of the last twelve verses from St. Mark, or the section of the Adulteress from St. John. Suffice it to say that the Revisers have in both cases followed in the steps of the best editors, and those who wish to see the reasons by which the editors have been influenced will find them nowhere so well stated as in Dr. Hort's *Appendix*. These two lengthy sections stand at the head of a group of five passages which Drs. Westcott and Hort class together as "Western interpolations," but which are yet of such importance as to demand some kind of recognition. The remaining three they have placed in their text within double brackets. These are the two verses Matthew xvi. 2, 3, the Signs of fine and rough Weather; Luke xxii. 43, 44, the Agony in the Garden; and Luke xxiii. 34, the First of the Seven Last Words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The Revisers have not dealt uniformly with all the five. The Weather-signs and the Agony they have admitted into their text, but noted the omission in the margin. The two longer sections they have printed with breaks—to that from St. John adding also brackets—and the saying upon the Cross they have placed in the margin. This difference of treatment corresponds roughly to a difference in the evidence. Against the section of the Adulteress the evidence is overwhelming; and, in spite of Mr. McClellan's protest, we may regard its absence from the original text as a point upon which critics are pretty well agreed. On the other hand, the gist of the case against the last twelve verses of St. Mark rests upon the combina-

tion \aleph B. The same combination with some support is ranged against the Weather-signs. In the description of the Agony \aleph^* secedes, but is replaced by the first corrector, while A and two good fragmentary MSS. ally themselves to B. This is a strong group. The Revisers would, however, ground their case upon \aleph^* D coupled with the early patristic evidence. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, etc. Yet these authorities are not seldom found on the side of readings that are certainly Western and cannot be trusted to mark a pure descent. For the omission of the words of forgiveness the authorities are \aleph (first corrector) B D*, where the accession of D, with some codices of the Old Latin shews that even from some Western texts the words were absent. "Few verses of the Gospels," as Dr. Hort remarks,¹ "bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record than the first of the Words from the Cross: but it need not, therefore, have belonged originally to the book in which it is now included. We cannot doubt that it comes from an extraneous source." The same is doubtless true in greater or less degree of the other passages in question. We need not lose them or the truths which they contain because they were not actually penned by the Evangelist. St. John exclaims at the end of his Gospel, "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." Other volumes besides the canonical Gospels we do not possess, and so much of them as we do possess is for the most part of inferior quality; but here and there a fragment carried down by oral or written tradition has been preserved by pious hands, and placed for safety in a framework which was not likely to be violated. There are still a few authentic sayings which have not enjoyed such protection. But the re-

¹ Appendix, p. 68.

cognition of this fact does not deprive them of their value. A jewel is still a jewel, whatever its setting.

Besides these five "Western interpolations," there are eight other passages, with one exception, of much less importance, which, in the opinion of Drs. Westcott and Hort, possess a precisely converse character. They are found in the non-Western and omitted from the Western texts, and omitted, as these editors think, with good reason. Seven out of the eight or (if we add the passage previously discussed—Matt. 189) nine passages are found in the last chapter of St. Luke. In all these cases the authority is slender; D and the Old Latin, occasionally reinforced by **8**. In other words, the omission is purely Western. But then we are met by this remarkable fact, that as a rule the tendency of the Western text is much more to insert than to omit. The scribes to whom it owes its origin seem to have laid their hands upon all that they could get, and were far from willing to relinquish that which they had. This alone would rouse suspicion. And when the series of passages comes to be examined, the Cambridge Editors think they can see an adventitious character about them. It is certainly true that when they are taken away the narrative does not seem to have lost any essential feature. The additions have the appearance of being either made up from the parallel narrative of St. John, or else merely epexegetic; and the mention of such a detail as the piece of "honeycomb" looks as if it were apocryphal. On these grounds the Cambridge Editors enclose them all in double brackets, and the Revisers, with more caution, have taken note of the omissions in the margin. For this very moderate measure they cannot be blamed.¹

¹ It is important to note, in view of the use which has been made of these omissions, that the question in regard to them lies quite upon the outskirts of textual criticism, and does not affect the main principle. The point is one upon which even Drs. Westcott and Hort would hardly speak with entire confidence.

The one passage which has just been described as of exceptional importance brings us to a topic to which it is surprising more attention should not have been paid—the four parallel accounts of the Institution of the Lord's Supper. In order to shew the maximum amount of possible divergence, I will quote St. Luke's account in the form in which it appears in the margin.

MATT. xxvi. 26-28.	MARK xiv. 22-24.	LUKE xxii. 17-20.	1 COR. xi. 23-26.
TEXT.	TEXT.	MARGIN.	TEXT.
And as they were eating, Jesus took ¹ bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took ² a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of ³ the ⁴ covenant, which is shed for many.	And as they were eating, he took ¹ bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of ² the ³ covenant, which is shed for many.	And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves . . . And he took bread [<i>or, a loaf</i>], and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body.	. . . the Lord Jesus . . . took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which ¹ is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new ² covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.
MARGIN. ¹ Or, a loaf.	MARGIN. ¹ Or, a loaf.	TEXT adds, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant [<i>or, testament</i>] in my blood even that which is poured out for you.	MARGIN. ¹ Many ancient authorities read is broken for you.
² Some authorities read THE CUP.	² Or, the testament.		
³ Or, the testament.	³ Some ancient authorities insert new.		² Or, testament.
⁴ Many ancient authorities insert new.			

This may be said to be almost a typical example of the

large majority of changes, while it is thrown into special relief by the deep interest of the narrative in which it is contained. The many omissions in the old familiar text will seem at first sight of more importance than they really are. The words and phrases which disappear from one of the records are in every case retained in another, so that there is no substantial loss. It is only that the testimony becomes single instead of double or threefold. If St. Matthew and St. Mark now speak indefinitely of "a cup," and no longer of "*the* (special) cup"—probably the third of the Paschal cups which came after the eating of the lamb, and was called by the Jews "the cup of blessing," and even though St. Luke should be deprived of the same definite allusion, it would still be found in St. Paul. Though in the words of administration St. Mark has "Take" only, and not "Take, eat," both words still have a place in the text of St. Matthew. And though "new" is dropped before "covenant" in the first two Synoptic Gospels, it remains possibly in the third, and certainly in the narrative of St. Paul. The most difficult question is that which is presented by the relation of this latter narrative to that in the Gospel of St. Luke. Is the apparent resemblance of the two in the common texts natural or artificial? Have we the words that St. Luke originally wrote? Or are we to regard the passage which approaches most closely to the language of St. Paul as an early interpolation, added—as so many others were—to make the narrative more complete? An idea got abroad at a very early date that when St. Paul spoke of "my Gospel," he meant the written record which has come down to us under the name of his companion, St. Luke. But if so, what more natural than to supplement the seemingly imperfect account of the Evangelist from the fuller narrative of the Apostle? This might well be done with a very innocent intention at first. The early

Christians were poor and many of them could probably not afford to possess more than the copy of a single Gospel. And the owner of such a single Gospel would be glad to enrich his MS. with marginal notes borrowed from elsewhere. Then the next copyist inserted the marginal matter bodily into the text, and there it became established. On the whole, it would seem that some such hypothesis presents a more probable explanation of the facts than that which assumes an accidental omission.

There is a difficulty in the longer reading arising from the apparent division of the institution of the Cup into two parts, separated from each other by the institution of the Bread. The direct evidence for the omission of the passage is purely Western—D, some forms of the Old Latin, and the Old Syriac in part. Westcott and Hort, however, observe that, as before remarked, the Western authorities are especially trustworthy in omissions. And this, coupled with the strength of the internal considerations, has led them to place the disputed words in double brackets, and so practically to deny them a place in the text. The other editors accept them as genuine. And the Revisers have followed the middle course of keeping them in the text but noting the omission in the margin. The point is one upon which it will perhaps never be possible to pronounce quite confidently.

With one more conspicuous example of the changes introduced by textual criticism, I will conclude. The parallel columns which follow represent the revised form of the Lord's Prayer as it appears in the two Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

MATT. vi. 9-13.

Our Father which art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy name. Thy
kingdom come. Thy will be done
as in heaven, so on earth. Give

LUKE xi. 2-4.

¹ Father, Hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come.² Give us day
by day ³our daily bread. And
forgive us our sins; for we our-

us this day¹ our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from² the evil one.³

MARGIN. ¹ Gr. *our bread for the coming day.*

² Or, *evil.*

³ Many authorities, some ancient, but with variations, add *For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory. Amen.*

selves also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And bring us not into temptation.⁴

MARGIN. ¹ Many ancient authorities read *Our Father which art in heaven.*

² Many ancient authorities add *Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.*

³ Gr. *our bread for the coming day.*

⁴ Many ancient authorities add *but deliver us from the evil one (or, from evil).*

With the weighty questions of translation which these two passages raise I am not at present concerned; and the reader will find an exceptionally full and exhaustive discussion of these elsewhere.¹ From the point of view of textual criticism the problem is comparatively clear and simple. It was only natural that there should be a certain amount of protest from lay critics, but it will have been seen that among the editors who have given a close and continuous study to the text of the New Testament the consent is all but complete in favour of the Revisers. The true reading in Matthew vi. 12 is undoubtedly not the present ἀφίεμεν, but the aorist ἀφήκαμεν—which, strange to say, two distinguished members of the Revision Committee² seem at one time to have regarded as a perfect—though the rendering “have forgiven” may be more open to question. Nor, when the lines of descent of the two readings are studied, can there be any real doubt as to the omission of

¹ On the translation “our daily bread,” see especially the elaborate discussions of Bishop Lightfoot, *On Revision*, Appendix I., and Mr. McClellan, *N. T.*, vol. i., p. 632 ff. For the rendering “bring” for “lead” see Bishop Lightfoot, *Letter in the Guardian*, Sept. 14th, 1881; and for the question between “evil” and “the evil one,” see a pamphlet by Canon F. C. Cook, the editor of the *Speaker's Commentary*, entitled, *Deliver us from Evil: A Protest*, etc. London, 1881; Three letters by Bishop Lightfoot, in the *Guardian* of Sept. 7th, 14th, and 21st, and a reply by Canon Cook, in the *Guardian* of Sept. 28th.

² Bishop Ellicott, *On Revision*, p. 146 (1st edition), and Prof. Milligan, *Expositor*, First Series, vol. vii., p. 130.

the Doxology.¹ The evidence for the omissions in St. Luke is less abundant; but it is very good in quality, and it is supported by the obvious consideration that if the words were originally wanting it is much more natural that they should have been supplied than it is that they should have been originally present and afterwards lost.

These remarks are all that space allows me to make at present. But the text of the Revised Version is a subject that has its ramifications in every chapter and, to a greater or less degree, in every paragraph of the New Testament. It will constantly affect the exegesis; and the student must be as much upon his guard for variations arising from this source as from those which arise from variations of rendering. All that it has been possible to do has been to ascertain some of the principles on which the Revisers have worked, and to bring out a few of the more salient results of their labours.

W. SANDAY.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the preceding article was set up in type, there has appeared at the head of the current number of the *Quarterly Review* a root and branch attack upon the principles of textual criticism adopted not only by the Revisers, but also by the succession of recent editors, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort. I rejoice to see it, because there is no means of getting at truth like discussion, especially searching discussion such as this criticism seems to promise. Its author possesses all the qualifications for his task, but one. His learning is great, his scholarship finished, his confidence in his cause absolute, his style vivacious and telling to an extraordinary degree. The one thing wanting is grasp on the central conditions of the problem, and a real understanding of his

¹ I have discussed this point at length in a letter to *Public Opinion*, June 18th, 1881, p. 793.

opponents' position. I believe I am to have an opportunity, in the forthcoming number of the *Contemporary Review*, of doing my own part to shew where the fallacy lies.

In the meantime I will ask the readers of the *Quarterly Review* to suspend their judgment, and not to be carried away by the torrent of desultory reasoning and invective, until they have heard what there is to be said on the other side. They may be assured that there is much in reserve besides what I shall be able to urge.

W. S.

CHRIST AND THE ANGELS.

III. HEBREWS ii. 10.

IN Chapter ii. Verse 9, the Apostle has overstepped the limits of the thesis that the Mediator of the new dispensation is superior to the angels, and that the new world is freed from angelic rule; for, in speaking of the glorification of Jesus, he has introduced a reference to the specific value of his passion not merely as the antecedent and reason of his glorification ("crowned with glory and honour on account of the suffering of death"), but as the means of salvation to men ("that by the grace of God He should taste death for every man"). Now the ultimate source of all doubt whether the new dispensation is superior to the old is nothing else than want of clear insight into the work of Christ, and especially into the significance of his passion, which, to the Jews, from whom the Hebrew Christians of our Epistle were drawn, was the chief stumbling-block in Christianity. Here, therefore, the Writer has at length got into the heart of his subject; and, leaving the contrast between Christ and the angels, urges the positive doctrine of the identification of Jesus with those that are

his—his brethren, the sons of God whom He sanctifies—as the best key to that connection between the passion and glorification of Christ which forms the cardinal point of New Testament revelation. This, we recollect, is the very topic set forth in Chapter i. Verse 3, as the starting-point of the Epistle. There a reference to the angels was introduced to make the nature of the Son's heavenly dignity quite unmistakeable. Except as a foil to set off the transcendence of Christ and the Christian dispensation, the angels have no value for the Apostle's argument; and it is only as a foil that they are for a moment again alluded to in Chapter ii. Verse 16.

In Chapter ii. Verses 10-18, we have a condensed and pregnant view of the theory of the whole work of Christ, which subsequent chapters develop, elucidate, and justify dialectically, in contrast or comparison with the Old Testament dispensation. In Verse 10 the argument, opened in an oblique manner in Verse 9, is put on an independent footing, and carried back to its absolute starting-point in the moral character and purpose of God. The work of salvation through Christ is a work *befitting God*; “for it befitted him, by reason of whom all things are and through whom all things are, when he led many sons to glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings.”¹

The first point in this verse which claims our attention is the expression, unique in the Bible, *ἐπρέπε τῷ Θεῷ*. In the Old Testament we have indeed (Jeremiah x. 7), “who would not fear thee, O king of nations, for to thee doth it appertain” (LXX. *σοὶ γὰρ πρέπει*); and similar language in Psalms lxxv. 1 (LXX.) and xciii. 5. But in these cases it is some action or attitude on the part of his creatures that

¹ The aorist participle *ἀγαγόντα* expresses an action synchronous with *τελειῶσαι*. The people of Christ are already partakers of the Messianic glory, as they are already citizens of the new world.

“befits God.” Here we have the notion of an inner fitness in God’s own actions; for the expression is not to be explained away as if it meant only that the passion of Christ is a means well fitted to the end, the bringing of many sons to glory. The *πρέπον*, as Aristotle puts it (*Eth. Nic.*, iv. 2, 2), is relative to the person as well as to the circumstances and object, and but for this reference to the moral nature of God Himself as the condition of the fitness of the passion of Christ, there would be nothing to distinguish the “fitness” in the case before us from physical necessity. The stress which the Apostle lays on the idea is plain from the way in which the expression is carried on. It befitted Him *by reason of whom all things are and through whom all things are*. To identify the *δι’ ὃν* here with the *εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα* of Romans xi. 36 is to confound two perfectly distinct conceptions, and to lose the point of this description of God. God is He from whom all things have their reason as well as their realization. He not only works all things (*δι’ οὗ*), but He is the reason of their existence. The whole course of nature and grace must find its explanation in God, and not merely in an abstract Divine *arbitrium*, but in that which befits the Divine nature. This is a conception of fundamental importance for that most fundamental part of Christian theology, the idea of God; for it enables us to think of God as free from the pressure of necessity (fate), and yet to distinguish his freedom from vague arbitrariness. It enables us to ascribe to God a real personal will, and yet to reject the nominalistic notion that his will is purely arbitrary; and it gives a moral quality to that supreme personality which cannot be conceived as acting under a law of duty. The moral law itself is simply the expression, for the guidance of beings created in God’s image, of that which befits Him by reason of whom and through whom all things are.

But if this notion is so fundamental in Christian theology,

why, it may be asked, is the expression of our verse unique in the Bible? Simply because it is a theological notion—a notion which does not rest on direct religious experience, but on subsequent reflection. The directly religious contemplation of God is directed to his moral character as revealed in his dealings with man—his righteousness and love; and, confiding in these, is content to refer God's ways to his good-pleasure (εὐδοκία, θέλημα:—"thy will be done." Comp. Matt. xi. 26; xviii. 14; Heb. xiii. 21; Psalm cxv. 3). The very essence of religion is a confidence in God and devotion to his will so absolute as not to suggest any formulation of the principle underlying his purpose, but only to rejoice in its gracious manifestation. Hence, in the Old Testament, the nearest approach to the idea of the seemingly as applied to God's actions is in the agonised cry of Job when his faith is tried to the uttermost—Job. x. 3 (Gen. xviii. 25; Jer. xii. 1). In the theological speculations of the Alexandrian school the expression *πρέπειν τῷ Θεῷ* is not infrequent. Examples from Philo have been collected by J. B. Carpzov in his excellent *Exercitationes*, but the idea, as might be expected from the tendency of Philo's theology, is taken in a somewhat superficial sense. It is worth noting that the chief value of Anselm's view of the Atonement lies in the introduction into theology of the idea of what befits God—the idea, as he puts it, of God's honour. Anselm fails, however, by thinking rather of what God's honour must receive as its due than of what it is seemingly for God in his grace to do, and thus his theory becomes shallow and inadequate.

The purpose of God, accomplished in a manner befitting the Divine Being through the suffering and glorification of Christ, is to bring many sons to glory. Here the sonship of the many sons is plainly correlative to the previously expressed sonship of Jesus; and so too the glory of the many sons is participation in the resurrection glory of Christ

(Comp. 1 Peter v. 1 ; John xvii. 22, 23). Now the glory of Christ corresponds to his sonship (Chapter i. Verse 4) ; therefore also it is as sons that the saved are led to glory. We see, then, that the idea of sonship is here introduced to express the likeness between Christ and those to whom He is the Author of salvation. This idea receives further elucidation in the following verses ; but, before going on to them, we must look at the clause, "to make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings." The word author in the Greek (*ἀρχηγός*) is primarily a leader ; then one who takes a foremost part in any matter ; and, finally, in a wider sense, becomes almost a synonym of *αἴτιος*, originator, author (Acts iii. 15). It is hardly necessary to put more meaning into the phrase than is contained in the parallel expression of Chapter v. Verse 9, *αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου*. The more definite notion expressed in the Authorised Version, that Jesus leads his people to salvation as their Captain, is suitable enough to the thought of the Epistle (forerunner, Chapter vi. Verse 20), but is not naturally expressed by the grammatical construction. Such a phrase as *Ἀρχηγός τῆς ἀποστάσεως* "leader in the revolt," is well enough, but "leader in their salvation" is awkward.

The last notion in the verse, and one which plays a foremost part in the dialectic of the Epistle, is that contained in the word *τελειῶσαι*—"to make perfect." The Greek verb means "to carry to the appointed goal or end," whether the end is conceived as a perfection residing in the thing to be perfected, or as something lying outside of it. Applied to a person, it may be used either (*a*) of internal development to physical or moral maturity ; or (*b*) of the attainment by him of some aim or appointed destiny.¹ Now the context, and especially the parallelism with Verse 9, makes it clear that the *τελείωσις* of Christ, corresponds

¹ (*a*) Plato, *Rep.*, vi. § 11, p. 498 ; § 3, p. 487. *Ibid.*, v. § 14, p. 467 init. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, ii. 1, 3. (*b*) *Herod.* iii. 86.

to his elevation to that glorious dignity which is undoubtedly his proper goal, inasmuch as it agrees with the pre-eminence of the name that He inherits. On the other hand, it is plain that the Author thinks of the "perfecting" of Jesus, not simply as an act, but as a process. It is not a mere synonym with his crowning with glory and honour: for while He is crowned *on account of* his passion, He is perfected *through* sufferings, as the appropriate path in the divine fitness of things to the attainment of a goal which includes not only his own glorification, but the simultaneous glorification of many sons. The goal set before Jesus is a supreme position in the economy of salvation; and the position is not simply conferred upon Him, but is worked out in a divinely appointed course of suffering, which is not only the reason but the means of an exaltation that is at the same time our salvation.

In our ordinary way of thinking of the Atonement, we look mainly at what Jesus, once for all, did for the redeemed. But our Epistle starts rather from the consideration of what Jesus *is* now and evermore for his people—from the unending dignity which He holds as the supreme person in the economy of salvation. Thus the work of redemption is viewed as the means or path towards that resurrection dignity which contains in itself the permanent realization of salvation for those who are brought to glory along with Jesus. Hence the fundamental importance of the *τελείωσις* of Jesus, as the highest and most general point of view from which his earthly course and passion can be contemplated in relation to the Divine plan. The same life and passion which, in relation to us, is the work of redemption, is, in relation to God, through whom are all things, a work of *τελείωσις* accomplished on Jesus Himself.

To understand more precisely our Author's view of the work wrought on and in Christ, we must compare two other passages.

Chapter v. Verses 7-9: "Who in the days of his flesh, when he offered prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard for his pious fear of God" (that is, in Old Testament language, was heard because He was *חסיד* or *בן חסה*, which words are often rendered by *εὐλαβής* or *εὐλαβεῖσθαι*) "though he was a son, he learned obedience by what he suffered; and when he was perfected (*τελειωθείς*) became to all that obey him the author of eternal salvation, when he was accosted by God as high priest after the order of Melchisedek."

Chapter vii. Verse 28: "The law appoints as high priests men who have infirmities; but the word of the oath subsequent to the law, appoints a son, perfected for evermore."

The second of these passages, which, as the simpler, may be considered first, confirms what has just been observed as to the fundamental importance in the doctrine of this Epistle of the abiding place of Christ in the economy of salvation. But, also, the everlasting perfection of Christ is contrasted with the infirmity of earthly high priests. From this contrast Riehm argues that here we must understand under *τελείωσις* mainly moral perfection, excluding all possibility of sin; and, secondarily, also the elevation above all earthly sufferings which belongs to Jesus in his exaltation. For, says he, the weakness of the high priests is their liability to sin, primarily their moral weakness, exposing them to be vanquished by temptation; and in a second degree also the general weakness of humanity, in so far as it also brings with it occasions of sin. In support of this argument he appeals to Verse 27 (comp. Chap. v. Verses 2, 3) which shews that a consequence of the weakness of the Levitical priests is that they have to offer sin offerings for themselves as well as for the people. The conclusion drawn from all this is that Jesus, according to our Epistle, was not absolutely impeccable before his

resurrection; but became so in the process of *τελείωσις*. The argument, however, from which so important an inference is drawn, is surely not valid. It is true that the infirmity of the high priests under the Law was connected with their moral imperfection. But the so-called *sins* for which the high priests had to make special offerings, and which are here contemplated, are not moral offences, but errors in the discharge of priestly functions, or shortcomings in the ordinances of priestly holiness, whether voluntary or involuntary, whether due to something in the priest or to something in his circumstances. All, therefore, that the verse teaches is that, whereas the Aaronic priests were never able to do their work without shortcomings, Christ, in virtue of his *τελείωσις*, is secure against all possible defect in the discharge of his priestly office. I do not see, therefore, that Chapter vii. Verse 28, helps us to any more complete conception of the process of *τελείωσις* than is given in Chapter ii. Verse 10; least of all, that it represents that process as the attainment of impeccability.

The passage in Chapter v. carries us farther, for in it the "through sufferings" of Chapter ii. receives its commentary. Jesus was perfected through sufferings, inasmuch as by his suffering He learned obedience. The obedience here spoken of is not simply conformity to the moral law, but prayerful and believing submission (*εἰσακουσθεῖς* implies this) to the sufferings which came upon Him in the discharge of his special vocation as our Saviour. So long as we look on Jesus simply as an isolated moral individual, we cannot speak of his "perfecting" as a moral development, without falling into the notion that, up to a certain stage of the development, He was still peccable. But the Apostle views the *τελείωσις* of the Saviour as practical initiation into his vocation as head of the economy of salvation. Wherever there is a vocation, growth and process are inevitable. Our vocation is a work appointed to us in the kingdom of God,

involving a multiplicity of personal relations within the kingdom. And personal relations are of necessity relations into which one grows; the relation can be fully and practically constituted only in the practical exercise of the calling in which it is involved. So it was with Christ. He had, so to speak, to work Himself into his place in the plan of salvation, to go down among the brethren whom He was to lead to glory and fully to identify Himself with them, not, of course, by sharing their individual vocations, but in the practice of obedience in the far harder vocation given to Himself. This obedience had to be learned, not because his will was not at every moment perfect, not because it required a habit of obedience to free Him from liability to sin, but simply because it was a concrete manysided obedience, the obedience of an actual life becoming ever profounder and more wondrous till it was crowned by endurance of the cross. Such obedience was the only path to the future glory consistent with the divine fitness of things; for it was the only way by which, consistently with the law of moral action and reaction, Jesus could take up towards the many sons the personal relation of their Saviour and Head.¹

We find, then, that in Verse 10 the connection between the past sufferings of Christ and his present glorious state as our perfected Saviour is elucidated by the idea that his glory is the glory of a moral vocation which He has perfectly realized, but which, like every other position of intrinsic worth in the moral world, is thus perfectly realized only as

¹ In the choice of the expressions *τελειωσις*, etc., the Apostle may probably have been influenced by the Septuagint use of these words of the consecration of the high priest (esp. Lev. xxi. 10); and this liturgical reference may seem to be favoured by the immediate transition in Chapter ii. Verse 11, to the notion of holiness. But as the Epistle nowhere explicitly represents the "perfecting" of Christ as an inauguration parallel to that of the high priest under the Law, it is safer to lay no stress on the analogy. The reference to the Greek mysteries, which has sometimes been sought in the New Testament use of the word *τέλειος*, can clearly have no application here, since there is no reference to a knowledge of divine secrets.

the result of a moral process, and even a moral battle. This idea is the key to the sufferings which Christ underwent to bring many sons to glory; and the subsequent verses shew how the key opens the problem by explaining why this moral battle was a battle involving suffering and death. Verses 11-13 shew that the position of Christ as our Saviour is one of brotherhood; and the following verses shew that the vocation of a brother to save his brethren can only be realized when the Saviour, becoming in all things like his brethren, takes upon Him their weaknesses and sufferings.

W. ROBERTSON SMITH.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THE Epistle to the Romans is generally, and with justice, regarded as the most comprehensive of St. Paul's Epistles. It is not so much prompted as the others by special interests or occasions. At the time it was written, St. Paul had not yet been to Rome, and except that, no doubt, he kept in view the general character and tone of thought of the Roman Christians, he was rather concerned with the general message of the Gospel than with any particular application of it, such as he had to make in the case of the Galatians or of the Corinthians. Accordingly, he intimates, at the outset, that this general account of the Gospel would be the subject of his letter. "As much as in me is," he says, in the first Chapter, "I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also: for I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek"; and he then enters at once upon his main argument. We may with advantage, therefore, regard the

Epistle as presenting in its most comprehensive form the Gospel which St. Paul preached, when he had no particular class or purpose more especially in view. He surveys, more fully than elsewhere, the whole ground which, so to speak, the Gospel has to cover, and exhibits once for all its central principles. There is no Epistle which enables us more fairly to judge of the harmony between the preaching of the Apostles and the records of the Gospels. Although the Epistle is far from being the first in order of time, it is with great appropriateness that, in regard to its subject matter, it has been placed at the head of all the rest, forming, as it does, the natural transition between the Evangelical and the Apostolic writings. It will assist our appreciation of this harmony if we briefly review the main heads of the Apostle's argument.

That for which the Epistle, then, is most remarkable is the clearness and fulness with which it contrasts the position of men without the Gospel, and the new position into which they are brought under its influence. The Apostle commences by describing the manner in which the heathen world of his day had lost the knowledge of God, not liking to retain that knowledge in their minds, and in consequence falling into the grossest degradations with respect both to their conception of Him, and to their recognition of the dignity and purity of their own nature. But he denounces this ignorance as self-condemned; and, without condescending to argue with it, he proclaims that all men have to give an account to the righteous judgment of God, and will all be miserable or blessed in proportion as they are reconciled to Him, and as their souls are in harmony with his will. But this being the great ultimate reality, with which all human beings have to deal, the Apostle exposes with terrible force their incapacity, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether nominally living according to a revealed law or without one, to meet the demands of the

Divine tribunal. Just as he had commenced by describing the general collapse of the heathen world in respect to the knowledge of God, so he proceeds to describe the general moral failure of all men, Jews or Gentiles, whatever their advantages or efforts, and their incapacity to endure the severity of the Divine judgment. It is a picture of which we must all recognize the truth. Did our hopes and our peace depend on the harmony of our thoughts, words, and deeds with the judgment of a God of perfect righteousness, and were we left to ourselves in satisfying that requirement, most of us would have reason to tremble, and none could look forward with any confidence. The language which the Apostle uses on this subject, strong as it may seem to us in some moods, when our sins and their evil consequences are not vividly present to our thoughts, expresses none too forcibly the apprehension which seizes the soul, whenever it is brought fully to realize the prospect of coming face to face with a Being of absolute righteousness. Every mouth is then stopped, and all the world is sensible of being guilty before God. Of course, if men could escape that perfect judgment, their sins and their errors might be overlooked, just as they are overlooked between one another. Unless a perfect light were to be poured on their souls, their darkness and uncleanness would not be visible. But it is an essential part of the Apostle's message, it was indeed the primary message of the Gospel, that that perfect judgment will be brought to bear on us, that the inmost recesses of our souls will be exposed to the glare of that perfect light, and that upon the result of that fiery trial our whole spiritual future must depend.

Such, as described by the Apostle, is the natural condition of men considered in relation to the Divine Judgment which will one day be revealed and brought to bear on them. In a subsequent Chapter, the Apostle describes the natural condition of men individually, in reference to their

moral power. Here, too, he gives a description, to which almost every heart must respond, of the struggle within the soul between the sense of what is right and the temptation to what is wrong. "That which I do," he says, "I allow not; for what I would, that do I not, but what I hate, that do I. . . . I know that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. For to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I do not, but the evil which I would not, that do I. . . . I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." This is a description of his own experience, given by a man of singular holiness, earnestness, and sincerity of character; and it is difficult to believe that it can be foreign to the experience of any one who pursues righteousness with any approach to a similarly single and intense purpose. In short, whether we contemplate men as a body, or penetrate into the deeper experience of earnest souls, the Apostle describes everywhere the sense of imperfection, of failure, of weakness. Good enough we may sometimes seem to each other, with our light, and facile, and shallow judgments. Yet, if we contemplate the judgment of the world on itself, as expressed by poets, by historians, and by men of letters, we shall find it corresponds too truly to the description of St. Paul. Still more does the cry of weakness which St. Paul utters, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death," find its echo in every earnest life, in every true record of struggling human experience. The Epistle to the Romans, as was observed at the outset, is comprehensive; and it is in nothing more comprehensive than in the melancholy and stern survey which it thus takes of our moral experience, alike in respect

to the external standard we have to confront, and to our own sad consciousness. Ancient and modern philosophies, Eastern and Western religions, are in this at one; and to every heart, no matter how earnest, enthusiastic, and hopeful, comes sooner or later, often revealed in some touching and unexpected confession, this sense of failure and weakness.

When the Apostle, then, announces a Gospel which is the "power of God unto salvation," he points, in one word, to the very centre of human needs, and proclaims the very remedy which is wanted. Men are afflicted with a general sense of moral weakness and moral corruption; and the Apostle announces to them the means of moral power, and of moral salvation. Let us consider what is its character and source. Notwithstanding the closeness and difficulty of the reasoning in particular portions of the Epistle, its general argument is singularly simple, and the great truths it proclaims stand out clearly in the course of its discussions. In the midst of the corrupt, guilty and feeble human nature we have been contemplating, the Apostle reveals a Being of perfect holiness, purity, grace, and power, who graciously invites us to attach ourselves to Him, and to be united with Him, from whom, by virtue of that union, we are privileged to receive the moral strength and life we need, and who, by virtue of his own perfect offering to God, is able to plead for the forgiveness and admission to God's favour of all who are one with Him. These are the two elements in moral and spiritual salvation which the Apostle designates in the two words around which Christian thought has centred, Justification and Sanctification—the former implying our full admission, for our Saviour's sake, to the fellowship and favour of God, notwithstanding our sins and imperfection; and the latter involving the whole process of our moral and spiritual purification, and ultimate deliverance from all evil. All human moral and spiritual needs are contained in those

two words—to be assured that here we need not be separated from God on account of our sins, but may draw near to Him in the Name and for the sake of his Son, and that hereafter, when brought before his judgment seat, He will, for the love of the same Lord, deal mercifully with us ; and further to be assured that the means are open to us of wrestling successfully with the evil of our hearts, of gaining the victory in that terrible internal war which the Apostle describes, and of being delivered from “the body of this death.” The two great miseries of men in their natural condition, as we have just been contemplating them, are directly and abundantly met by this double revelation of grace and power. Though all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, they are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God has set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood ; and, in answer to the almost desperate appeal, “O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death !” we are enabled to reply, “I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Now what it chiefly concerns us to observe, in this Gospel of the power of God unto salvation, is that it consists entirely of the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a living and present Person, to whom we are united by faith, and from whom, by virtue of that union, all this Divine grace and power is derived to us. The very heart and centre of the Apostle’s argument is to be seen in Chapter vi. of the Epistle, in which, to obviate any possible abuse of the doctrine of grace and forgiveness, he insists with the utmost urgency on the fact that our position as Christians is one of the most intimate union with the Saviour, alike in his death, and in his risen life. The baptism which admits us to our Christian privileges is described by the Apostle as baptism into Jesus Christ, into his death, and into his life. We pledged ourselves

in that sacrament to fellowship and oneness with Him in the supreme act of his life, in that crucifixion in which He died to all sin, living only unto God. Faith in Him, the faith which ensures our forgiveness and justification at God's hands, implies this acceptance of complete fellowship with Christ in that renunciation of all sin which led to his crucifixion, and which was carried out to the full in it: and in proportion as such fellowship and oneness in Christ's death is attained by us, in that proportion are we also united with the Saviour in his present life of power and grace. If we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him—not merely, as the context shews, hereafter, but in the present—"knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him. For in that He died, He died unto sin once: but in that He liveth He liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lust thereof." It is not only Christ's death for us in the past, nor his deliverance of us in the future, which constitutes the Gospel which St. Paul proclaims as the power of God unto salvation; but it is his union with us in the present, our fellowship with his death, and our consequent sharing of His present life, in which this gracious revelation consists. This is the simple, clear, vivid reality around which this comprehensive Epistle centres. The person of Christ is introduced into the midst of that guilty, sinning, and suffering world which the Apostle contemplates, and which we see around us. To Him men look up by faith, and attach themselves to Him, and are united with Him; and He takes them as it were by the hand, and stands by their side in the presence of his Father, and asks and obtains their forgiveness; and they, on their part, are striving to be ever more and more one

with Him, and like Him; and He bestows on them, in proportion to their faith and trust and sincerity, his own life and power, by means of his own Spirit. They receive the Spirit of adoption, whereby they cry "Abba, Father." That Spirit bears witness with their spirit that they are the children of God, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, if so be that they suffer with Him, that they may also be glorified together.

Now if we apprehend this living and personal character of the message proclaimed by St. Paul in this Epistle, we shall at once perceive its full harmony with the Gospels, and shall see what a gracious light those records throw on it. The Gospels also are the revelation of Jesus Christ, in all his grace, and power, and love, in the midst of sinning and suffering mankind. In the midst of the corruption and despair of his own people and of the world, He comes forward, summoning to repentance, appealing for faith, healing sicknesses, casting out devils, purifying men's souls by word and deed, abasing them by his revelation of their evil and weakness, and raising them again by his mercy and spiritual power. He is rejected by the majority of them, but "as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God." He is the centre of a new creation, of a new life, spiritual, moral, and physical. There are no limits to the operation of his power; all things are possible, and are shewn by miracle after miracle to be possible, to him that believeth. Faith in Him, submission to Him, complete acceptance of his will and dependence on Him, are the sole conditions He requires; and to all who give Him this faith He proclaims his Father's forgiveness, and gives the power to lead a new and blessed life. This is the Lord Jesus, this is the gracious Person, the source of all life and love, to whom St. Paul directs us in this Epistle. This is the living Lord and Saviour, whom he sees with the living eye of faith, and to

whom he points all who are oppressed with evil. That revelation of life, and power, and love, which he displays to us is the very revelation of the Gospels, and of their immediate sequel after our Lord's resurrection.

There are but two differences, which do not affect the essential character of the revelation, or the harmony of its two-fold exhibition. The Saviour to whom St. Paul points us is no longer visible, and we cannot see Him and speak to Him in the flesh. But we can speak to Him and commune with Him as really, as immediately, as when He was on earth; and He speaks to us, and guides and controls us, not less really and immediately by his Spirit. The communion of Christ with his disciples while He was upon earth is but the example and visible illustration of the communion to which we are admitted now, through his Spirit. The other difference is a more important one, and has given occasion to that sense of some divergence between the teaching of the Gospels and Epistles, which, to some minds, has seemed to need explanation. It is to a different part of our Saviour's work and life that St. Paul more immediately directs our attention. Our Lord had died, and had risen again; He had ascended into heaven, and had assumed all power at the right hand of God; and henceforth it was inevitable that these great and cardinal acts should take precedence of all others in Christian thought. The death of Christ was the final and complete exhibition of the whole spirit of his life, and was the consummation of his propitiatory work. That death, therefore, with the blood that He shed, embodies, in one terrible act, all other acts and words of his priestly and prophetic ministry; and Christian thought is thenceforth concentrated upon it with peculiar intensity. On the other hand, the new power He assumed after his resurrection, the far greater and more diffusive influence He exerted through his Spirit, similarly takes precedence in Christian thought of the powers He

exhibited before his death. We cannot be content to contemplate Him now as He was before his exaltation. He is the same in character, the same gracious Saviour, the same source of healing, of forgiveness, and life. But his power is now primarily spiritual, hidden, and exerted within our souls in secret spiritual communion, and by methods different in some respects from those which He employed on earth. The power of God unto salvation is now, as then, revealed in the Lord Jesus Christ, as a living and present Person, but the acts and conditions by which that power operates on us are now contained in the grand events of his death, resurrection, and ascension; and to these accordingly, as in the creeds of the Church, St. Paul directs our main attention. But that we may have faith in Christ as a living and present Person, as much as when He was visible, and even more, so as to follow Him in his death to sin, and to live with Him in his risen life—that we may be one with this living Lord of life and love—such is the simple, but at the same time comprehensive and mighty, Gospel which the Apostle proclaimed; and it is but the completion of our Saviour's revelation of Himself in the four Evangelical narratives.

It would be a great assistance to us in our spiritual life to grasp, and ever to bear in mind, these considerations. So far as we allow Christian doctrines to be separated in our minds from the apprehension of Christ as a living Person, will they lose their power over our souls, and will they be in danger of assuming the unreality which has sometimes seemed to attach to them. But that danger will be avoided in proportion as we remember that we enjoy the grace of justification and forgiveness before God, not by virtue of a mere belief in Christ's atoning work in the past, but by virtue of our living faith and trust in Him in the present; and similarly that our sanctification, our continued victory over the sin in us and around us, depends on the reality

and constancy of our daily and living communion with Him. We shall then understand and prize the doctrinal statements of our faith, as the guides to its living truths and realities, and as a guarantee for them; but we shall live in the life and light of the great realities themselves. If we fall short of the gracious and glorious picture of Christian life given by the Apostle, is it not because we fail to live, as he did, in this living communion with the Saviour? His gracious influences are bestowed, now as ever, upon those who live with Him, love Him, trust Him, and pray to Him. Let Him be to us the most living and real companion of our lives; and then shall we understand better what it is to reckon ourselves "dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

HENRY WACE.

*ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN
THEIR BEARING ON THE OLD TESTAMENT
SCRIPTURES.*

XVI. SENNACHERIB AND HEZEKIAH.

THE thrice-told history of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (2 Kings xviii., xix.; 2 Chron. xxxii.; Isa. xxxvii., xxxviii.) has made his name more familiar to English readers of the Bible than that of any other Assyrian king. We have here a record which brings before us the character of the man as well as the events which brought him into connexion with the history of Israel, and have accordingly more ample materials for a comparison of what is thus told of him with what he records of himself in his own monumental inscriptions. It will be seen that the Jewish and the Assyrian chronicles look at the same events from a very different

standpoint. It will be found, I believe, that light will be thrown upon both by bringing them together.

The position of Hezekiah when he ascended the throne, in relation to Assyria, was doubtless that which he had inherited from Ahaz, as a tributary sovereign. He was under the guidance of Isaiah, and the prophet's teaching had all along discouraged any rash attempt at a premature assertion of independence by an alliance with Egypt, such as that which brought about the downfall of Hoshea, and led the king to consecrate the earlier years of his reign to the work of internal reformation. Sargon, who was on the throne of Assyria at the time of Hezekiah's accession, had probably established his reputation as an invincible conqueror whom it was hopeless to resist. He spent the later years of his life in founding a new capital under the name of Dur-Sharyukin (=the castle of Sargon), about fifteen miles from Nineveh, on the site now known as Khor-sabad, and in building the palace whose ruins have furnished such rich materials for our knowledge of his reign. In B.C. 706 the city, the palace, and the temple were solemnly consecrated to Nisroch, Nebo, and the other gods of Assyria. In B.C. 704 he was assassinated, and succeeded by his son Sennacherib. The accession of the new king brought about an immediate change in the relations of the two kingdoms. Within three years Sennacherib appears as attacking the fenced cities of Judah (2 Kings xviii. 13, 14) and reducing Hezekiah to an abject humiliation ("I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear") and to the payment of tribute. What had brought about the change?¹

¹ A comparison of the Assyrian inscriptions with the Jewish records brings to light some chronological difficulties which have been elaborately discussed by Mr. Sayce in the *Theological Review* for January 1873, and by Mr. Cheyne in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (vol. i. pp. 192-200). According to the inscriptions Sargon was not succeeded by Sennacherib till B.C. 705; while the records, according to the traditional chronology, place Sennacherib's first invasion in

The answers to that question, as far as the records guide us, point to three probable causes. (1) The character of the new king of Assyria was essentially that of a propagandist conqueror bent on asserting the supremacy of the gods he worshipped over those of all other nations. So he describes himself in what is known as the *Cylinder Inscription* in the British Museum (*R. P.*, i. 25).

"Sennacherib, the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king unrivalled, the pious monarch, the worshipper of the great gods . . . the first of all kings, the great punisher of unbelievers, who are breakers of the holy festivals."

One whose policy was guided by this purpose must have heard of Hezekiah's restoration of the worship of the Temple, of the new prominence given to the name of Jehovah as the Holy One of Israel, with feelings of profound irritation. It is significant that the first result of his victory was to compel the king of Judah to despoil the Temple. "At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah the king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria" ¹ (2 Kings xviii. 16). That spoliation would in its turn rankle in the minds of the men of Judah. Princes and priests, and not a few of the prophets, would be burning with a fiery zeal to avenge the insult. The relations

b.c. 713, and his second in b.c. 710. It has been suggested accordingly that we should read "*Sargon*" for "Sennacherib" in 2 Kings xviii. 13, and the "*twenty-seventh*" year of king Hezekiah in Isaiah xxxvi. 1, thus placing the events which the prophet relates in b.c. 702. The illness of Hezekiah in Isaiah xxxviii. is fixed, by the promise of fifteen years of life, to b.c. 713, and the king of Assyria in verse 6 is therefore according to this hypothesis Sargon and not Sennacherib. The mission of Merodach-Baladan is left without any chronological data, but the absence of any reference to the alliance with Babylon in the Rabshakeh's speech makes it probable that it was some time before that envoy's mission. Another possible solution is that Sennacherib commanded his father's armies in the first invasion.

¹ This, according to the view given in the preceding note, must be placed in the reign of Sargon, though Sennacherib may have been the actual invader.

of the vassal and suzerain were rapidly becoming ripe for a religious war.

(2) The annals of Sennacherib indicate another *casus belli* that probably furnished the occasion of attack, and which, as will be seen, connected itself closely with the policy of propagandism of which I have just spoken. The war began, as is the wont of wars, from the dissensions of a comparatively unimportant city. I copy from the "Prism" inscription (*R. P.*, i. 36).

"The chief priests, noblemen, and people of Ekron,
Who Padiah their king, *holding the faith and worship*
Of Assyria, had placed in chains of iron and unto Hezekiah
King of Judah had delivered him, and *had acted towards the deity*
with hostility,

These men were now terrified in their hearts. The king of Egypt
And the soldiers, archers, chariots, and horses of Ethiopia,
Forces innumerable, gathered together, and came to their assistance."

This then was the starting-point of the war. The king of Ekron¹ had been placed there to establish the worship of the Assyrian gods over that of Dagon or other Philistine deities. The people resisted this, rose in revolt, and made their king a prisoner. Hezekiah made common cause with them and consented to act as gaoler, intending perhaps to use his prisoner as a hostage or to demand a ransom. The old project of an Egyptian alliance was revived, and we probably see in Isaiah's denunciations against those who "go down to Egypt" for help (*Isa.* xxx. 2, xxxi. 1) a protest against the revival.

The inscription continues the narrative. Sennacherib led his armies to the country of the Philistines, subdued the king of Ascalon, and took Beth-Dagon, the temple of the rival deity giving its name to the city. A great battle

¹ Lenormant, by the way, reads the Assyrian word as Amgarrum, and identifies it with the Migron of *Isa.* x. 28. (*Anc. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 399.)

was fought at Altaku (the Eltekon of Josh. xv. 59) in which the forces of the allies, including "the archers, chariots, and horses of the king of Ethiopia, innumerable in multitude," were routed.¹ Ekron was taken and punished with unusual severity. Priests and nobles were put to death, and their bodies exposed on stakes round the city (*R. P.*, i. 38). Padiab was rescued from his prison in Jerusalem and reinstated in his kingdom. It remained to punish the more conspicuous rebel who had detained him as a prisoner, and Sennacherib records his victory over him at great length and in a tone of exulting pride.

"And Hezekiah
king of Judah, who had not bowed down at my feet,
forty-six of his strong cities, his castles, and the smaller towns in
their neighbourhood beyond number with warlike engines. . . .
I attacked and captured; 200,150 people, small and great, male
and female; horses, mares, camels, oxen,
and sheep beyond number, from the midst of them I carried off
and distributed them as a spoil. He himself like a bird in a cage,
inside Jerusalem,
his royal city I shut him up; siege towers against him
I constructed. The exit of the great gate of his city to divide it,²
he had given commands. His cities which I plundered from his
kingdom
I cut off, and to Mitinti king of Ashdod,
Padiab king of Ekron, and Izmi-Bel,
king of Gaza, I gave them. I diminished his kingdom.
Beyond the former scale of their yearly gifts
their tribute and their gifts to my majesty I augmented,
and imposed them upon them. He himself Hezekiah,
the fearful splendour of my majesty had overwhelmed him;
the workmen, soldiers and builders,

¹ It may fairly be conjectured, pending further discoveries, that this is the victory commemorated in the *Nahr-el-Kelb* inscriptions near *Beyrout*. See an interesting paper by W. St. Chad Boscawen, in the *Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. vii. part. ii. 1881, p. 344.

² The words probably mean that Hezekiah had ordered the drawbridge before the gate to be raised so as to cut off communication.

whom for the fortification of Jerusalem his royal city
 he had collected within it, now carried tribute,
 and with thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, woven cloth,
 scarlet, embroidered, precious stones of large size,
 couches of ivory, moveable thrones of ivory, skins of buffaloes,
 teeth of buffaloes, *dars* wood, *ky* wood, a great treasure of every
 kind,
 and his daughters,¹ and the male and female inmates of his palace
 male slaves
 and female slaves, unto Nineveh my royal city
 after me he sent, and to pay tribute
 and do homage he sent his envoy."

It was natural that the Jewish historians should pass over so great a humiliation as rapidly as they could, and hasten on to narrate at greater length the events which ultimately turned the scale once more in favour of Judah. It must be acknowledged however that they do not seek to hide its extent. The brief record of 2 Kings xviii. 14-16, quoted above, speaks volumes as to the result of Sennacherib's first invasion.

(3) Yet another event closely connected with Jewish history may have helped to bring about Sennacherib's invasion of Judah. After his recovery from his sickness, fifteen years before his death, (and therefore probably between B.C. 712-704,) Hezekiah, we read in Isaiah xxxix., received an embassy from Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon. It was an embassy of diplomatic congratulation which, in the nature of things, veiled a proposal of alliance against their common foe, the king of Assyria.

¹ The mention of daughters, and not of sons, presents an interesting coincidence with the Jewish records. Manasseh was only twelve years of age when he succeeded Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxiii. 1). He was born therefore three years after his father's illness (Isa. xxxviii. 5). It is a natural inference from this that there was no heir apparent to the throne at the time when the shadows of impending death fell, for a time, upon the king's soul. The fact throws light both on Hezekiah's craving for life, and on the special thought of his thanksgiving, "The father to the children (literally 'to the sons') shall make known thy truth."

The envoys arrived apparently before the spoliation of 2 Kings xviii. 14-16, for Hezekiah shewed them, in the pride of his heart, the "house of his precious things" and all the resources of his kingdom. He was obviously disposed to trust in the arm of flesh, and to welcome the alliance of Babylon as his father had welcomed that of Assyria, as his counsellors once and again during his reign welcomed that of the Ethiopian dynasty of Egypt (Isaiah xviii., xix., xxx., xxxi.). Isaiah, consistent throughout in his policy and his faith, protested against the later scheme as he had protested against the earlier. He predicts the coming of a time when the treasures of Hezekiah should be carried to Babylon, when his children also should be taken away and be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon. The inscription of Sennacherib already quoted shews that the prediction received a prompt though partial fulfilment. The daughters of Hezekiah were carried off to the harem of Sennacherib, or possibly, as before, of Sargon, who by his conquest of Merodach-Baladan added "Viceroy of the gods of Babylon, king of the Sumir and of the Akkad," to his titles. (*R. P.*, ix. 3.) Here also prophecy had "springing and germinant accomplishments." It was probably in connexion with this counsel and with the vision of the future thus opened to him that he delivered the prophecies against Babylon in his 13th and 14th Chapters.

The inscriptions of Shalmaneser, Sargon, and Sennacherib throw, it will be seen, a new light on these transactions. No province had given so much trouble to this dynasty of Assyrian kings as that which had Babylon as its centre. Shalmaneser II., the king whose victory over Jehu is recorded in the Black Obelisk inscription, records his victories over a Merodach-suma-iddin, king of Gan-Dunias (= Chaldæa), whom he drove to take refuge in the mountains, and whose brother he put to death. He offered sacrifices after his conquest in Babylon, Borsippa and Cuthah. (*R. P.*, v. 33.)

Tiglath Pileser II., who claims for himself the double title of "king of Assyria and high-priest of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad," records the tribute which he received from a Merodach-Baladan, son of Yakin, king of the sea coast" (*i.e.*, of the coast of the Persian Gulf), how he conquered Babylon, Borsippa and Ur, and swept over Chaldæa with his armies" (Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 256-258), how Merodach-Baladan was "overwhelmed by a terrible fear of Assur" (*Ibid*, p. 260) and "came and kissed his feet, and brought gold-dust and vessels of gold and precious stones as tribute."

The submission was, however, only temporary, and Sargon, in the annals of his reign recorded in the great Khorsabad inscription (*R. P.*, ix. 13), describes Merodach-Baladan as "the fallacious, the persistent in enmity," who "did not respect the memory of the gods, but trusted in the sea, and in the retreat of the marshes." He refused payment of tribute and allied himself with Khumbanigas king of Elam, and roused the nomadic tribes of the desert against the king of Assyria. For twelve years "against the will of the gods of Babylon . . . he had excited the country of the Sumir and Akkad (*i.e.* the province of Babylon) and had sent ambassadors to them." At last Sargon "decreed an expedition against him and the Chaldæans," and Merodach-Baladan fled from his approach "in the night-time like an owl" and fortified himself and his gods in the city of Dur-Yakin, "constructing a ditch round it 200 spans wide, and one and a half fathoms deep." He "placed the insignia of his royalty as in an island on the banks of the river," but the armies of Sargon prevailed, and the Babylonian rebel was again compelled to flee, leaving behind him his golden throne and sceptre, his silver chariot, and other precious things. Sargon took and destroyed the city of Dur-Yakin, dug up its foundations, and made it "like a thunder-stricken ruin," and "the

people of Sippara, Nipur, Babylon and Borsippa" were allowed to remain in their cities under the government of Assyria. Sargon after subduing Syria returned in triumph "to the sanctuaries of Bel" and transported vast treasures of spoil to the treasure chamber of the palace. (*R. P.*, ix. pp. 14-16.)

It was apparently after this defeat, possibly as late as after the death of Sargon (B.C. 704), that Merodach-Baladan sent his ambassadors to Hezekiah in the hope that taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the accession of a new king, he might once more assert his independence. The attempt however failed, and Sennacherib in the Bavian inscription (*R. P.*, ix. 26) relates how he had defeated the kings of Elam and Babylon, and taken the son of the latter prisoner. He attacked Babylon and came on it "like the coming of storms and like a rushing wind," saved the life of the king and took him and his family into Assyria as captives. In another inscription (Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 296-309) the king gives a slightly different account of his victories. He accomplished the overthrow of Merodach-Baladan, "with the army of Elam his helpers." Merodach fled, and Sennacherib entered into his palace and opened his treasure-house. It was full of

"gold, silver,
instruments of gold, silver, precious stones, everything,
furniture, and goods without number, abundant,
. . . his consort, the eunuchs of his palace,
the great men, those who stand in the presence, male musicians,
female musicians,
the whole of his people, all there were living in his palace, I brought
out, and as spoil I counted."

Then, in the same inscription, comes the narrative of Sennacherib's victory over Hezekiah already quoted, and then in close sequence the account of the final overthrow of the rebel king.

"The front of my feet I turned, and to Bit-Yakin I took the road.
 He, Merodach-Baladan, of whom in the course
 of my former expedition his overthrow I had accomplished, and
 dispersed his forces;
 the march of my powerful soldiers
 and the shock of my fierce attack he avoided and
 the gods ruling in his country in their shrines he gathered, and in
 ships he caused to sail, and
 to Nagiti-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea, like a bird, he
 fled.
 His brothers, the seed of the house of his father,
 whom he had left beside the sea, and the rest of the people of
 his country
 from Bit-Yakin in the lakes and swamps
 I brought out and as spoil I counted. I returned and his cities
 I pulled down,
 destroyed and reduced to ruins. Upon his ally
 the King of Elam terror I struck.
 On my return, Assur-nadin-sum,
 my eldest son, the child of my knees, (*i.e.* the favourite)
 on the throne of his dominion I seated, and the extent of Sumir
 and Akkad
 I entrusted to him."

Another account, but not adding anything of importance,
 is found in the inscription known as that of *Bellino's*
Cylinder, *R. P.*, i. 25.

The prince thus named, who was thus appointed as a
 viceroy over Babylon, is identified with the Esarhaddon
 whose history we shall afterwards have to trace.

It was not to be expected that the Assyrian inscriptions
 should record the destruction of Sennacherib's army and the
 consequent failure of the expedition against Jerusalem. On
 some points of that history, however, light is thrown in the
 inscriptions.

(1) The title of the Rabshakeh (literally, in its Hebrew
 form, the chief of the cupbearers, but probably, as an As-
 syrian title=chief of the officers) appears in the inscription

of Tiglath Pileser II. (Smith's *Assyr. Discov.*, p. 264) as that of an officer who acted also as a general and was sent as an ambassador to the king of Tyre. With him in 2 Kings xviii. 17 are joined the Tartan, the title of the officer whom we have already met with as acting under Sargon (see Isa. xx. 1), and the Rabsaris, or chief marshal.

(2) The trust in the "broken" (or "cracked") "reed" of Egypt with which the Rabshakeh taunts the representatives of Hezekiah finds an illustration partly in the inscriptions already referred to in connexion with the So, or Sebek, or Sabaco, with whom Hoshea formed an alliance, partly in that of Sennacherib quoted above, partly in the inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal which shew that Tirhakah the king of Ethiopia, who had probably commanded the forces of the Pharaoh his father, continued even after the death of Sennacherib to be a formidable enemy of Assyria.

Thus we have, in the annals of this king (Budge's *Esarhaddon*, pp. 109-123; *R. P.*, i. 59):

"In my first expedition to Makan and Meroe (Milakha, *R. P.*) then I went. Tirhakah king of Egypt and Ethiopia, whose overthrow Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father, my begetter, had accomplished and had taken possession of his country; then he, Tirhakah, the might of the god Assur, the goddess Istar, and the great gods, my lords despised, and trusted to his own might . . . and to capture Egypt he came against them; he entered and sat in Memphis the city which the father my begetter had taken, and to the boundaries of Assyria had added."

Tirhakah appears (Budge's *Esarhaddon*, p. 117) to have allied himself at a later period with Bahlu, king of Tyre, who trusted to this alliance as Hezekiah's counsellors had done, or were thought by Rabshakeh to have done, in the reign of Sennacherib.

(3) The siege of Lachish, near the borders of Egypt, occupies a prominent position in the Rabshakeh episode of Jewish history. Hezekiah's messengers, bearing his

promise of submission, find the Assyrian king there (2 Kings xviii. 13). Before Rabshakeh came on his second embassy he had heard that his master had departed from Lachish (2 Kings xix. 8). The whole series of facts is well illustrated by a bas-relief from Sennacherib's palace, now in the British Museum, and engraved as a frontispiece to Mr. George Smith's *Sennacherib*. The king is seated on his throne, receiving the homage of captives, and over his head is the inscription, "Sennacherib, king of the nations, king of Assyria, sate on his lofty throne." "*The spoil of Lachish* before him came." It is significant that the captives are for the most part represented as having woolly hair, as though they had belonged to the Ethiopian army of Tirhakah.

(4) The language in which the Rabshakeh speaks of his master "the great king, the king of Assyria," (Isa. xxxvi. 4, 13) exactly corresponds with the style in which that king uniformly describes himself. Thus we have (Smith's *Assyr. Discov.*, p. 296) :

"Sennacherib, the great king,
the powerful king, the king of Assyria,
king of the four regions,
the appointed ruler,
worshipper of the great gods,
guardian of right, lover of justice,
maker of peace,
going the right way,
preserver of good, the powerful prince,
the warlike hero, leader among kings,
giant devouring the enemy,
breaker of bonds."

The style is much the same in all the inscriptions, as in *R. P.*, i. 25, ix. 23.

(5) The Rabshakeh taunts Hezekiah's ministers with their weakness, especially in their cavalry, and challenges them as to a wager. Sennacherib will give them two thousand

horses if they can find riders for them (Isa. xxxvi. 8). The taunt came with all the more pointed sharpness from the fact that in Sennacherib's first invasion, as in the inscription already quoted, he had carried off "horses and mares beyond number" and over two millions of the population of Judah. It was indeed, even then, only a "remnant" that was left, while the cavalry of the Assyrian king was perpetually augmented by the men and beasts which he carried off from other countries, as *e.g.* from the Aramæan confederates, "203,000 people, male and female, 72,000 horses and mares, 11,173 asses, 5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen" (*R. P.*, i. 26). To one whose armies had been thus largely increased, the offer of two thousand horses was but as a bagatelle.

(6) The taunting speech continues, and the Rabshakeh declares that his master is sent by Jehovah to punish Hezekiah for overthrowing the high places which had been consecrated to his worship. Mr. Cheyne (in his Note on Isa. xxxvi. 10) conjectures that this, if it was not a mere sarcasm, refers to some dream or prophetic message, such as the Assyrian kings often claimed as the warrant for their invasions. Thus, *e.g.*, in the annals of Assur-bani-pal (*R. P.*, ix. 52) the king relates that a seer "slept and dreamt a dream :

Istar dwelling in Arbela

entered, and right and left she was surrounded with glory,
 holding a bow in her hand,
 projecting a powerful arrow, on making war
 her countenance was set. She, like a mother bearing, was in
 pain with thee.
 She brought thee forth. Istar exalted of the gods, appointet
 thee a decree
 thus: Carry off to make spoil
 the place before thee set, I will come to."

and so on, through a long series of promises of victory. Another reference to a dream oracle of the same kind is

found in the annals of the same king in *R. P.*, i. 74. In Sennacherib's own inscriptions (*R. P.*, i. 27, 39, 48; Smith's *Assyr. Discov.*, p. 29), Assur appears as the giver of confidence and courage. Had the wandering imagination of the Assyrian king, on hearing of the destruction of the high places of Judah, seen, as in vision, the outraged deity of Israel appearing as a suppliant in the council of the great Assyrian deities and asking for redress? Did he really assume for the moment the character of the champion—the "Jareb" king of Hos. v. 13; x. 6—of the Jehovah, or Jahveh, of whom he had heard as worshipped both in Samaria and Judah?

(7) The envoy of Sennacherib appears in the verses that follow in a new character. As in the royal or imperial proclamations of more recent times, as, *e.g.*, in those of the German invasion of France, and the English invasion of Afghanistan, he declares that his master, though constrained to make war against the rebellious ruler of Judah, is really the friend and benefactor of the people. The counsels of the princes will lead them only to the most loathsome extremities of famine. The king of Assyria offers them peace and safety for a time in their own land, and then a new home, in which also they might "drink every man the waters of his cistern," "a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards"; the exile which they dreaded would be a positive change for the better (*Isa.* xxxvi. 12-17).

It is, I think, an interesting coincidence, hitherto, as far as I know, unnoticed, that the inscriptions of Sennacherib dwell largely on the improvements which he had effected in the water supply and cultivation of his territory. Of all the achievements of his reign, these were what he was most disposed to glory in. This was what he had been doing for his subjects; while Hezekiah's measures of defence, in stopping the fountains and brooks that were outside the city (2 Chron. xxxii. 4), could not fail to aggravate the suffer-

ings of his own people within the walls, and to bring about the results with which the Rabshakeh threatened them.

Thus Sennacherib speaks (*R. P.*, i. 29) of his predecessors :

“As to caring for the health of the city by bringing streams of water into it, and the finding of new springs, none turned his thoughts to it, nor brought his heart to it.

Then I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by command of the gods, resolved in my mind to complete this work, and I brought my heart to it.”

Or, again, detailing his improvements in Nineveh (*R. P.*, i. 31):

“In the midst I placed my royal residence, the palace of Zakdinu-isha (*i.e.*, HAS NO EQUAL, the *Nonpareil* or *Nonsuch* of Assyria). Around it I planted the finest of trees, equal to those of the land of Khamanas,¹ which all the knowing prefer to those of the land of Chaldæa.

By my care I caused the uprising of springs in more than forty places in the plain; I divided them into irrigating canals for the people of Nineveh, and gave them to be their own property.

To obtain water to turn the corn-mills, I brought it in pipes from Kishri to Nineveh, and I skilfully constructed water-wheels.

I brought down the perennial waters of the river Kutzuru (the modern *Khausser*) from the distance of half a *kasbu* (= three and a half miles) into those reservoirs, and I covered them well.” (*Comp. R. P.*, ix. 23.)

A land so fertilised and plentiful might well be represented in the glowing terms which the Rabshakeh used in his address to “the people that sat on the wall,” when he threatened them with the horrors which have passed, if one may so speak, into a proverbial phrase which men shrink from uttering. There was indeed another side to the picture, which appears in Sennacherib’s inscriptions,

¹ The cedars and cypresses of Khamana (Mount Amanus) mentioned by Sargon in the Khorsabad inscription (*R. P.*, ix. 16).

but which was naturally absent from the speech of his ambassador (*R. P.*, i. 29), and which was perhaps reserved for those who resisted him.

"Men of Chaldaea, Aram, Manna, Kul, and Cilicia, who had not bowed down to my yoke, I brought away as captives, and I compelled them to make bricks.

In baskets made of reeds which I cut in the land of Chaldaea, I made the foreign workmen bring their appointed tale of bricks, in order to complete this work (*i.e.*, the building of his palace)."

(8) The last argument of the Rabshakeh's speech is an induction from the previous conquests of the Assyrian kings. "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? And have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?" In the reproduction of this triumphant enumeration in *Isa.* xxxvii. 12, other nations are added to the list: "Gozan and Haran and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar?" and "Hena and Ivah" are added to Hamath, Arpad and Sepharvaim.

The answer to the boastful question would have been, as Mr. Cheyne remarks, that the images of these gods were now to be seen as trophies in the sanctuaries of Assur and Istar in the Assyrian temples. This was, throughout their history, the common practice of the great monarchs of the East. So Samas-Rimmon boasts (*R. P.*, i. 14) that his general Mulis-Assur had brought out from the cities he had conquered "their *gods*, their sons and their daughters" (*comp.* also p. 20). So Sennacherib himself records (*R. P.*, ix. 27), as following on his defeat of Merodach-Baladan at Babylon:

"The gods dwelling within it, the hands of my men captured them and broke (them), and their (furniture) and their valuables they brought out, Rimmon and Sala, the gods of . . .

Of the temples: which Marduk-nadin-akki, king of Akkad, in the time of Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, had brought out and to Babylon had taken

for 418 years: from Babylon I caused to come forth to the temples, to their places I restored them."

Of the cities which the Rabshakeh enumerates, Hamath and Arpad were in the Orontes valley, Gozan on the *Khabour*, and Haran on the *Bilitz*, another affluent of the Euphrates. Sepharvaim is identified with the Sippara of the inscriptions, a flourishing town on the Euphrates, connected with the worship of the sun; Hena was probably near it; Ivah (probably the Ahava of Ezra viii. 15) between Sepharvaim and Henah; Telassar (Tel Assur hill, or high place, of Assur) probably in the same region of the Mesopotamian valley. It follows from these geographical facts that where we do not find the names of the cities thus mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, they may yet have been included in the more general terms in which Sennacherib describes his victories over the Aramæans and Chaldæans (*R. P.*, i. 26). The Khorsabad inscription of Sargon, however, records briefly, his conquest of Sippara (Sepharvaim) after his defeat of Merodach-Baladan, at Dur-Yakin (*R. P.*, ix. 15), and at some length that of Hamath and Arpad (*R. P.*, ix. 6). It gives, in its reference to Samaria, a special reason for the emphasis with which the Rabshakeh dwells on it.

"Jaubid of Hamath, a smith, was not the legitimate master of the throne; he was an infidel and an impious man, and he had coveted the royalty of *Hamath*. He incited the towns of *Arpad*, *Sinyra*, *Damascus*, and *Samaria* to rise against me, took his precautions with each of them, and prepared for battle. I counted all the troops of the god Assur: in the town of Karkar which had declared itself for the rebel I besieged him and his warriors; I occupied Karkar and reduced it to ashes. I took him, himself, and had him flayed, and I killed the chief of the rioters in each town, and reduced them to a heap of ruins. I recruited my force

with 200 chariots and 600 horsemen from among the inhabitants of the country of Hamath, and added them to my empire."

In the names of the new colonists settled by the king of Assyria in Samaria "men from Babylon and from Cuthah, and from Ava (=Ivah), and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim" (2 Kings xvii. 24), we have of course direct and independent evidence of the facts to which the Rabshakeh refers. In the mention of the more remote regions the Rabshakeh may possibly have acted on the principle of the *omne ignotum pro magnifico*.

(9) In the answer which comes from the lips of Isaiah to Hezekiah's prayer we have either an actual or an ideal report of another message sent by Sennacherib to the king of Judah, and here also it is in exact accordance with the language of the inscriptions. "By thy servants hast thou reproached the Lord and hast said, With the multitude of my chariots have I come up to the height of the mountains and to the sides of Lebanon, and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice fir-trees thereof, and I will enter into the heights of his border and the forest of his Carmel. I have digged and drunk strange waters; and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of the besieged places" (Isa. xxxvii. 24, 25).

Mr. Cheyne quotes two striking passages from the inscriptions of Shalmaneser and Assur-bani-pal in which they record how they had penetrated into mountain heights that were before thought inaccessible. "Trackless paths and difficult mountains," says the former (*R. P.*, iii. 85), "which, like the point of an iron sword, stood, pointed to the sky, on wheels of bronze and iron I penetrated." "Rugged paths, difficult mountains," says the latter (*R. P.*, iii. 43), "which for the passage of chariots were not suited I passed." It is interesting, however, to note that Sennacherib himself indulges in a like boast. Thus (*R. P.*, i. 77) :

"Through the thick forests and in the hilly districts I rode on horseback, for I had left my two-horse chariot in the plains below. But in dangerous places I alighted on my feet, and clambered like a mountain goat."

So, as to the destruction of forests, we have in the same inscription (*R. P. i. 28*) :

"I cut down their woods; over their cornfields I sowed thistles. In every direction I left the land of Illipi a desert."

The drinking "strange waters" finds a striking parallel in the Bavian inscription (*R. P., ix. 23*) :

"I remembered the woody places surrounding it (Nineveh) which were without water. Murmurings ascended on high from the assemblies of the princes and its people. Drinking water they knew not, and to the rains from the vaults of heaven their eyes were directed.

I had drunk, and from the midst of the cities of Maditi, Kimbagabna, [a list of seventeen names follows] waters which were against Khadabiti, sixteen rivers I excavated, to the midst of the river Khusur I fixed their course. From the coast of the city Kisiri to (the midst of) Nineveh I excavated: their waters

I let flow within it: 'the opening of Sennacherib' I proclaimed its name. (I brought?) the strength of those waters from the midst of the country of Taz,

a difficult mountain of the frontier of Akkad, within my country. . . . The waters which were not channelled to the arid lands I abandoned them. . . . The gate of the river . . . and an enclosure for himself (Bel). It was opened, and I let flow in the waters of the great canal."

Or again (*R. P., i. 4*) :

"In the mountain valleys, and through flooded lands

I travelled in my chariot; but in places which to my chariots were dangerous

I alighted on my feet; and like a mountain goat among the lofty cliffs

I clambered up them. Where my knees
took rest, upon a mountain rock I sat down,
and water, cold even to freezing, to assuage my thirst I drank."

Sargon's inscription relates like achievements (*R. P.*, ix. 4) in which Sennacherib had probably taken part during his father's life-time:

"From the day of my accession there existed no princes who were my masters. I have not, in combats or battles, seen my victor. . . . I have opened innumerable deep and very extensive forests, and levelled their inequalities. I have traversed winding and thick valleys, which were impenetrable like a needle, and I passed in digging tanks dug on my way."

The Assyrian inscriptions contain, as has been already said, no record of the destruction of Sennacherib's army. Such documents confine themselves for the most part to victories, and do not descend to failures. That there was such a destruction, however, which left its impress on the minds of men for many generations is seen in the form which the tradition assumed in the history of Herodotus (ii. 141). He relates, on the authority of the Egyptian priests from whom he derived his information, that Sennacherib led his armies against Sethos, a priest of Hephæstos who succeeded Sabacos (the "Shebek" or "Shabatak" of the inscriptions, the "So" of 2 Kings xvii. 4), that the priest, abandoned by the caste of warriors whom he had offended, went into the temple of his god and asked with prayers and tears for help, and that the god appeared to him in a dream and bade him be of good cheer. Trusting to this vision he led an army of shopkeepers and artisans against the Assyrian army then encamped at Pelusium, and in the night myriads of field-mice swarmed into the enemy's camp, and devoured their quivers, their arrows, and the straps of their shields, so that they were left without arms and were easily defeated. In commemoration

of this event. Herodotus adds, a statue of Sethos was placed in the temple of Hephæstos, bearing a field-mouse on its hand, and with an inscription: "LET HIM WHO LOOKS ON ME LEARN TO FEAR THE GODS."

The story in this form has a singular parallel in a legend, given by Strabo (xiii. 117, quoted in Blakesley's Herodotus) that the Teucerians who settled at Chryse were attacked, with a like result, by swarms of mice who were sent against them by Apollo Smintheus, whose name, derived from *σμήθος* (a mouse) was probably given to him in his character as sending or averting plagues of this character. The mouse probably became in this way an emblem of pestilence caused by the sun's heat;—so Apollo, also in the special character of Smintheus, sends a plague on the armies of the Greeks in Homer (*Il.*, i. 43–52),—and thus became also the starting-point of the more prosaic form of the legend related by Herodotus.

The Assyrian inscriptions are, in like manner, silent as to the murder of Sennacherib by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer; but one document, which has well been described as his "last will and testament," supplies a probable motive for the assassination. The inscription, given in Budge's *Esarhaddon*, p. 2, and *R. P.*, i. 136, runs thus:

"I, Sennacherib, king of multitudes, king of Assyria, have given chains of gold, stores of ivory, a *cap* of gold, arms and chains besides, all the riches of which there are heaps, crystal and another precious stone, and bird's stone; one and a half manchs, two and a half cibi, according to their weight, to Esarhaddon (= Assur gave a brother), who was afterwards named Assur-chil-mucin-pal, according to my wish; the treasure of the temple of Amuk and (Nebo)-irith-esha, the harpists of Nebo."

It is obvious that this legacy of the *regalia* of the kingdom, to a son who was probably not the eldest,¹ and the

¹ In the inscription given above, from *R. P.*, i. 23, Esarhaddon is, it is true, described as the "eldest son"; but the peculiar epithet that follows, "child of

significant change of name,¹ was calculated to rouse the jealousy of his elder brothers, and that their murder of their father was therefore part of an attempt to assert their rights and seize the kingdom for themselves. That Esarhaddon had to maintain his throne against their attacks will be seen in the inscriptions of that king given in the next paper of this series.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

PETER AND JOHN BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN.

ACTS iv. 7-20.

THAT the two Apostles who had been summoned to appear before the rulers of Jerusalem exhibited, in presence of their judges, a brave and manly bearing, and returned an answer worthy of their position in the Church, is manifest at a glance. It was equally apparent to the authorities at whose bar the two brethren stood on their defence. They saw the boldness of Peter and John, and the phenomenon surprised them very much; such self-possession and resoluteness in persons of their humble position, unlearned laics, before the awe-inspiring power of the world, being quite out of the common course. The startling fact was provocative of reflection. How, the Sanhedrists asked themselves, "how is it that these two men, whom we have known as illiterate persons of vulgar station, are able to carry themselves thus in presence of their superiors?" And the explanation which occurred to them was this: "They had been with

my knees," or "child of my blessings," indicates something like a transfer of the privileges of the firstborn.

¹ I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Sayce for the meaning of the new name which Sennacherib mentions in his will, as signifying "Assur is lord, the establisher of the son." Mr. Sayce reads "*Etil*" for "*Ebil*," but this leaves the meaning unaltered.

Jesus." That circumstance, once it was recognized, was regarded by the rulers as a sufficient solution of the puzzle. It was by no means intended as a compliment. The notion of these rulers was that the followers and quondam companions of the crucified Nazarene were likely to be desperate men, fit for any enterprise requiring audacity, and reckless of consequences to themselves or others. In important respects they mistook the character of the Apostles who stood at their bar. Peter and John were not, as they imagined, coarse fanatics. They *had* strong convictions, but they were perfectly sober-minded. They had not the bull-dog courage of fanatics. They were, naturally, timid men, who had been brought to their present temper by a moral discipline of which mere zealots have no experience. In one point, however, the authorities were not mistaken, viz., in recognizing a close causal connection between the present bearing of the two Apostles and their past intimacy with Jesus. Beyond doubt their present moral courage was the natural effect of that bygone fellowship. There was much in that fellowship directly and powerfully tending to foster a heroic temper and type of character; how much, one can realize only after deliberate consideration of what was involved in companionship with Jesus. We propose, therefore, to enter into some detail to illustrate and establish the proposition that fellowship with Christ was the secret of the moral courage and unflinching fidelity to truth which characterized the Apostles in general, and the two pillar Apostles in particular. The study will repay the trouble; for it can be utilized for other purposes besides the one immediately in view; lending itself readily at once to homiletic and to apologetic uses.

Companionship with Jesus, then, tended to develop courage in the Disciples in the following ways:—

1. Intercourse with Jesus during the years of the personal ministry formed a *friendship* between Him and his disciples

which would make them in after days sensitive to all that affected his honour. The two men referred to in the story before us had been long enough with Jesus to have contracted, in a perfectly natural and intelligible way, a strong affection for Him. Now, according to the written word of one of these same brethren, "perfect love casteth out fear." It is, we know, the tendency of all powerful emotions to raise one above considerations of fear. Our hearts are cowardly only when they are cold and passionless. When they are warmed with some commanding passion, we can all do things which, in our cooler moments, we should never dare to attempt. The passion of anger, for example, kindled into a blaze by some flagrant wrong, will embolden a man to denounce and resist iniquity; and, when it serves such an end, it is a most holy passion. On this account nothing in the life of our Lord gives a true Christian more sincere satisfaction than that act of zeal by which, at the commencement of his ministry, He cleansed the temple with a whip of small cords. And, as wrath casteth out fear, so also does love. What will not a mother do to save the life of her child, or a son to defend the honour of his father? How little effort it cost Naboth to decline to part with his ancestral inheritance, though he could not but know that he thereby incurred the displeasure of an arbitrary, unrighteous despot! What will a patriot not dare for the sake of his country? Esther ventured to go into the inner court of the palace uncalled for, aware that the procedure was contrary to Court etiquette, and that she should die unless the king happened to be in the humour to be gracious. Love to her people cast out fear for her own life, and helped her to form the heroic resolve: "I will go in unto the king, which is not according to the law; and if I perish, I perish." Precisely similar was the action of strong affection for Jesus in the case of the two Apostles. It made them bold in his honour and cause. The question

had been put to them. "By what power, or by what name, have ye done this?" The alternative open was: to glorify their former Master by telling the truth—that, by his name and aid, the miracle of healing had been done; or to escape odium and risk to life by being silent as to the cause, or by explaining the whole matter away. How could men who had been with Jesus so long, and been loved by Him so faithfully, and to whom, in turn, they had been so deeply attached, even for a moment hesitate which alternative they should choose? It was such an opportunity of magnifying the name of their Lord in the world as his former companions would not for any personal advantage let slip. Therefore they returned the noble answer recorded by St. Luke.

2. Long continued and constant converse with Jesus tended gradually to imbue his disciples with his *spirit*. It is written that "evil communications corrupt good manners;" but the converse is equally true. Communication with the good improves manners. There is an imitative tendency in man, in virtue of which the characters of those who live much together become assimilated. The assimilative process affects not merely outward habit or opinions, but temper, feeling, disposition. The weaker nature becomes assimilated in a very pervasive manner to that of the stronger; that of the son to the Father's, that of the disciple to the Master's. Hence there is a recognizable type of character common to each family; and, in a less degree, yet perceptibly, to each school of thought, and to each religious denomination. It cannot be doubted that this principle of assimilation was at work in the school of Jesus, insensibly, yet surely, moulding the spiritual nature of his disciples. Susceptible souls, like theirs, could not be for so considerable a time under Christ's influence without imbibing his spirit in various directions; and, especially, in the direction of the virtues of truth, sincerity, and unflinch-

ing fidelity to duty. They had opportunities of witnessing their Master's many conflicts with the unbelieving and gain-saying people, priests and rulers of Judæa. They observed the calm, fearless, dignified way in which He rebuked their hypocrisy, confounded their tricks, answered their captious questions, and defied their threats, clamour, and violence. Men who had been spectators of such scenes could hardly fail to catch infection from the holy zeal and courage of Jesus, unless they were utterly devoid of the capacity of even appreciating such virtues, in which case they would never have joined Christ's society or remained in his company. We could not reasonably expect comparatively common men ever to equal the Incomparable One in courage; we should rather expect to find them to the last falling immeasurably behind Him in moral grandeur. But we should certainly expect men who had been with Jesus for years, to shew, on fitting occasion, some measure of their Master's spirit; the same devotion to truth, the same zeal for God, the same superiority to the fear of man, the same serenity and dignity of bearing in presence of the powers of this world; the same in kind and quality, if not in degree. And that is just what we do find in Peter and John before the Sanhedrin.

3. Fellowship with Jesus tended to foster in the Disciples moral courage by affording them the opportunity of getting their minds filled with his *sayings*. The words of Christ were living words, words that went into the conscience like arrows, and into the heart like coals of fire. Men who had heard these words spoken by his lips, and had given them lodgement in their minds, would not easily get rid of them. They might forget them for a season; they might sin against them under temptation: but there they would be still, coming to remembrance after shortcomings, causing feelings of self-condemnation, and rendering repetition of the offence difficult. The remark applies to Christ's words on

all subjects, but very specially to those we have at present in view. Such as these, viz., "Fear not them who kill the body, but fear him (Satan) who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven." "What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or fathers, or mothers, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall inherit everlasting life." "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." "When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the spirit of the Father which speaketh in you." And so on, for we have not space to quote all the heart-stirring words of this kind, at once stern and comforting, which, treasured up in the memories of the Apostles, must have greatly helped to embolden them in the task of preaching truth to an unbelieving and hostile world.

4. A fourth respect in which fellowship with Jesus tended to foster in his Disciples the spirit of fidelity and courage is this; that, as the companions of the Son of Man, they were gradually becoming accustomed to *isolation*. The followers of Jesus were a *small* company. The "little flock" was one of the pet names the Master gave his companions. They were also a *lonely* company; like a flock of sheep in the wilderness. They were separated outwardly from society by their mode of life, which was that of wanderers moving about from place to place, and not tarrying long in any particular locality. They were, moreover, a *peculiar* people; peculiar in their thoughts, and in their habits; nonconformists in reference to several prevalent religious customs; above all, peculiar in their

attachment to One whom few understood or believed in. They were consequently a despised and disliked people. Fashion, custom, and the majority were not only not on their side, but were more or less decidedly hostile to them. In course of time men so situated will learn to bear being alone. They acquire by degrees the power to hold fast their convictions, and to pursue their own aims without being disturbed by the thought that public opinion is not in their favour; to do what they think right without being scared by censure; to have joy in themselves, and to do without much sympathy, while valuing the sympathy of all intelligent sincere well-wishers. By the time the men who had been with Jesus were called on to perform the duties of the apostolate, they had pretty thoroughly learnt this lesson. They had become crucified to the world's praise and blame, and concerned solely about serving their Lord. They feared not the face of priest or prince. They were elevated to a moral altitude from which all men appeared to be on a level, and the glory of man looked very paltry. The power, the pride, the prejudice, even the wisdom, of the world, before which most quail, they could regard with undaunted undazzled eye. They could dare to ask, Who or what are the principalities and powers of earth, the established beliefs and customs of nations, in comparison with the interests of the Divine Kingdom? All this, because they had been companions of Jesus, the solitary One, who was only not alone because the Father in heaven was ever with Him, nearest when men were furthest away.

5. One other circumstance connected with the companionship of the Disciples with Jesus, tending to account for their after heroism, remains to be noticed. During the time they were with Jesus the Apostles passed through a terrible crisis, more trying and perilous by far than any which afterwards befel or could possibly befall them. The great crisis

of their life was the awful time when their Master was crucified. In comparison with the tragic experience of that never to be forgotten day of blackness and darkness, how insignificant the tribulations of the present minor crisis in the fortunes of the two Apostles! Then all was at stake that was worth living for—faith, hope, the Divine kingdom, the object of a sincere if ignorant enthusiasm, the very character and credit of their beloved Lord. Now it is only their own personal safety that is involved. Their Master has risen from the dead and been exalted to glory, according to their firm and well grounded belief. By these events his righteousness has been vindicated, and the triumph of his cause ensured. There is nothing to shake faith either in the Kingdom or in the King; but merely a call for firmness in defence of a cause which they certainly know to be of God, and therefore destined to overcome all opposition, whatever may become of them. Men who had come safely through the former storm without suffering spiritual shipwreck, though not without temporary damage to the vessel, ran no risk of serious disaster from the present less violent gale. Warriors, whose Waterloo lies behind them, are not likely to play the coward in a petty skirmish.

On all these grounds it was to be expected that men, who had been companions of Jesus, would play a heroic part when placed in circumstances such as those indicated in the narrative. The boldness of Peter and John was the natural product of fellowship with Jesus. If, now, these characteristics were not exceptional and peculiar to the Apostles, but capable of being reproduced in the experience of Christians generally, we should be justified in finding therein the rationale of moral courage in all ages and circumstances of the Church. We might turn the observation of the Sanhedrists concerning the two Apostles at their bar, into a universal truth,—to the effect that, fellowship with Christ is the secret of Christian fidelity. The question therefore is:

Is such a fellowship now possible, or was it possible only for those who were contemporaries and companions of the Lord? Perhaps the truth here lies between two extremes. To assert the possibility of a fellowship with Christ now, in all respects similar to that of Peter and John, might savour of mystic extravagance. On the other hand, to deny the possibility of a fellowship in any respect similar to that of the Apostles, would be to set ourselves in opposition at once to experience and to reason. For it is certain that many men, of highly respected name in the Christian Church, have claimed to have had experience of a fellowship resembling that of the Apostles in its most marked characteristics; and the bearing of these men in positions of trial has been such as to justify the assertion, that heroic fidelity is the effect of intimate communion with the Lord and Head of the Church. Martyrdom and mystic fellowship with Christ have usually gone together; and, if we were to judge from the utterances of some martyrs and confessors, we might arrive at the conclusion that it is possible for a believing man, living in any age, to put himself in all respects, except that of mere bodily presence, in the position of the men who had been with Jesus. The rapturous utterances, however, of a Christian under tribulation, of a Samuel Rutherford for example, writing from the Bass Rock, ought to be taken perhaps with abatement. It must be allowed that, in some respects, we cannot now repeat the experience and enjoy the benefit of the companions of Jesus. The remark applies very specially to the second of the above mentioned particulars, the operation of the law of sympathy. We may surpass the Disciples in spiritual insight into the character of Christ; but we can hardly feel its power as intensely as they did who were eyewitnesses of its manifestations. It is one thing to see a brave, true, heroic life enacting itself on this earth, and, as we stand by the actor's side, to feel the holy passion

for righteousness, which is its animating motive, passing by contagion into our souls; another, and a very different thing, merely to read the story of such a life written in a book.

Yet, with all necessary deductions, it may soberly be affirmed that fellowship with Christ, after the manner of his companions, is still possible, and with similar practical effects. We who have not seen Christ in the flesh can *love* Him with intense affection. The affection needs for its genesis, not knowledge after the flesh, but knowledge of the Crucified, the consciousness of redemption. Witness Paul, whose knowledge of Jesus after the flesh was at most slight; possibly he had no such knowledge at all. Yet was he certainly not behind the chiefest of the Apostles in respect to his devotion to the person and cause of his Lord. That was due to the "faith-mysticism" by whose inspiration he was able to say, "I am crucified with Christ;" a faith-mysticism repeatable in our experience. We can also know Christ's *words* almost as well, in some respects even better, than his earthly companions. They are recorded in the Gospels with much fulness, in all their marvellous beauty, and depth, and many-sidedness. And they are still living words though written on the dead page. They are, indeed, too living for the comfort of many. Not a few Christians are actually afraid of Christ's words; hence they either dilute them with watery comments, to persuade themselves that his sterner sayings are not to be taken quite as He uttered them; or they deliberately ignore the austere side of his teaching, and confine their attention to the merely benevolent gracious aspects; so making it possible for them to subside into a comfortable Antinomianism, flattering themselves that they are "saved," while making no conscientious endeavour to live a truly Christian life according to the doctrine of the Saviour. Both classes bear emphatic, though unconscious, testimony to the power

of such sayings as we quoted in the earlier part of this paper over the conscience even at this late date. Their power is so great that the unfaithful cannot afford to come under its influence ; it is necessary for their comfort that in this respect they should deliberately resolve not to be "with Jesus." Once more, it is possible for us to become partakers in Christ's *solitariness*, and so learn, like the Apostles, to bear isolation. We have but to consent to become his disciples, and to learn impartially the lessons He has to teach. No faithful disciple of Christ will find himself often in the crowd following fashion ; he will often find himself alone, or in the minority, needing greatly the faculty of doing without the sympathy of numbers and of bearing criticism and contradiction. And every faithful disciple will be daily learning the needed art. Fidelity will not only isolate, but give strength to bear isolation. Another thing the faithful disciple will learn betimes, viz., the wisdom to know when to be peculiar. A most important virtue ; for it is an utterly mistaken notion that Christian sanctity consists in indiscriminate singularity. It is a great part of Christian wisdom to know when to be singular ; and unfortunately many are singular at the wrong time and in the wrong things, straining out gnats and swallowing camels. The disciple who is willing to be an impartial learner in Christ's school will at once acquire the power to stand alone and the skill to know when to stand alone. He will learn to be devout without superstition, holy without Pharisaism, temperate without asceticism, pure without precisianism, earnest without moroseness, firm in conviction without uncharitableness, uncompromising in fundamentals, and accommodating in all else ; in a word, to be sober, righteous, and godly after the fashion of Jesus, not after the fashion of the world, whether religious or irreligious. And, let us add, all this is necessary in order to be a Christian of the true, heroic, primitive stamp,

soldierly in spirit, and able, when needful, to endure hardship. Such capacity is even yet needed, though it has to be exercised under new conditions and in novel forms. Courage figures as a cardinal virtue in the New Testament : "Add to your faith *bravery*," writes St. Peter ; and cowardice is a correspondingly cardinal vice : St. John places *cowards* at the head of the black list of sinners whose place is the fiery lake. Courage is needed still. It is not possible even now to be a right good Christian by merely following fashion, even the best fashion going. Wherever there is a fashion there is a world ; and, as the late Canon Kingsley shrewdly remarked, wherever there is a world, any kind of world—political, literary, commercial, gay, or religious—there is a good deal of the devil. Therefore at all times he who would be a Christian of the antique stamp, must cultivate the power of thinking and acting for himself, the art of steering by the star of eternal truth and duty, instead of coasting timorously along the shores of current opinion and established custom. And the way to acquire these accomplishments is to be "with Jesus."

One word now on the *apologetic* use of this incident in Apostolic history. It may be utilized for apologetic purposes in two ways. It contributes somewhat to the refutation of the Tübingen theory of the origin of the Book of Acts, according to which it is a literary invention in the interest of conciliation, constructed on the plan of making Peter, in the first part, act as like Paul as possible ; and Paul, in the second part, as like Peter as possible ; so bringing the two parties, Judaists and Universalists, together in the person of their heads. Now, granting the feasibility of the scheme, it may be assumed that the Writer, supposed to be a Paulinist, would take care to work out his plan so as not to compromise the standing or weaken the influence of Paul as an Apostle. Yet we find things in the Acts which do tend in that direction to a degree which excludes any

other motive in writing than a desire to record the facts as they were, whatever their apparent tendency. More than once the Writer relates incidents in which stress is laid on companionship with Jesus as a qualification for the apostleship.¹ How hard that requirement bore on the Apostle of the Gentiles, who had no such companionship! And here, in this narrative, we find emphasis laid on having been with Jesus, as tending to give to those who enjoyed the favour an exceptional position. The rulers meant it in a bad sense, doubtless; but believers would read the record in a good sense, and find in it the meaning that the men who had been with Jesus were invested with an altogether unique dignity and importance. How hard again upon Paul, who had to fight in his own defence on this very score against his bitter foes the Judaists! Surely a Paulinist author might have omitted these sections, or modified them, seeing he, *ex hypothesi*, took such liberties with historical truth!

The other apologetic use of this incident is to bring into doubt the foundation of the whole superstructure of Tübingen criticism, viz., the alleged radical contrariety between the original Apostles and Paul in their conception of Christianity. According to the theory the Eleven were, one and all, narrow Judaists. Now is that likely when we consider the principles enunciated in this paper as helping to explain the bearing of the two Apostles before the Sanhedrin? We remarked that, through close communion with their Master, they gradually imbibed his spirit of moral courage. But if there be any truth in this law of moral influence, and that there is few will question, its scope cannot be limited to the one virtue of courage. There were other things not less characteristic of Jesus than courage. There was, very notably, the universalistic spirit of his religion, admitted by Dr. Baur himself. Is it credible

¹ Acts i. 21; x. 41.

that the men who had followed Christ for years, utterly failed to catch the infection of that worldwide philanthropy, revealed not alone, or even chiefly, in words, but in looks, tones, actions, general bearing, in everything, in short, by which spirit is manifested? We cannot believe it. That the Companions of Jesus were in after days narrow Judaists is as incredible as that they were cowards; and both are alike incredible for the same reason, viz., because "they had been with Jesus."

A. B. BRUCE.

BRIEF NOTICES.

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS has been enriched by a *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* from the pen of Dr. Plumptre. It is not perhaps the most suitable class-book for boys and girls, for it deals with the most "questionable" of Scriptures in a most ingenious and speculative spirit; but of that surely those of us who are no longer boys or girls need not complain. *Students* of Ecclesiastes will be charmed to find Dr. Plumptre adopting the hypothesis of Hitzig and Tyler, and contending, with an originality which makes the hypothesis his own, that Koheleth was an Alexandrian Jew, familiar with the Epicurean and Stoic philosophies, who lived and wrote in the second century before Christ. And though I myself still hold to the Persian rather than to the Greek hypothesis of the book, and believe that Dr. Plumptre has claimed for the Epicurean or the Stoic philosophy many phrases so natural and inevitable that they were the common property of most schools of ancient thought, I am bound to admit that there are many passages in *The Preacher* which favour his view, and that he has illustrated them with an erudition and ingenuity which give them their full weight, and will compel every future commentator to deal with it. His critical and expository notes, too, are most valuable, whether his main hypothesis be accepted or refused; while the dissertations which precede or follow them gather up almost every conceivable illustration of the thoughts and spirit of the sacred writer from the literatures both of the ancient and of the modern world. In short, this little book is of far greater value than most of the

larger and more elaborate commentaries on this Scripture. Indispensable to the scholar, it will render real and large help to all who have to expound the dramatic utterances of *The Preacher* whether in the Church or in the School.

MERCY AND JUDGMENT, by *Rev. Canon Farrar* (London: Macmillan & Co.) is a supplement to *Eternal Hope*; but, though it handles the same theme, it handles it in a different way. Not that the Canon, as some have alleged, has shifted his ground or modified his tone. He would still, I apprehend, base "the larger hope" on the teaching of Scripture, and still cherishes that hope as confidently as ever. But Dr. Pusey's strictures on his earlier work have induced him to come down for a time from the high ground of Scripture, in order to deal with the authority of the Fathers of the Church; to shew, as he does very conclusively, that many of the Fathers held and taught the very views for which he himself has been called in question; and so to prove that the doctrine of everlasting punishment cannot be "of the faith." To the general reader a long catena of patristic quotations, however choicely culled or brilliantly illustrated, cannot possess the interest of a stream of argument drawn from the clear fountains of Scripture; Nonconformist readers attach less weight to the decisions of these ancient Fathers than to those of modern scholars; while even the student, to whom their interpretations are most instructive, will be apt to conclude that the preponderant weight of authority must inevitably dip the scale on the orthodox side. It is the more necessary to point out, therefore, that *Mercy and Judgment* is not wholly taken up with the argument from "authority," but also recurs to the argument from Scripture. Every one who takes an interest in the most momentous theological question of modern times should study the chapters in which Canon Farrar deals with the eschatology of the Jews at the dawn of the Christian era, turns the argument so often drawn from the writings of Josephus against those who employ it, and once more sets forth the real teaching of Scripture on the doctrine of Future Retribution and the true principles of Scripture exegesis; for these chapters alone suffice to give a permanent value to his work.

Editor.

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